

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Bucaniers of America;

BEING  
An Entertaining Narrative  
OF  
The Exploits, Cruelties and Sufferings of the  
following noted Commanders,

VIZ.

JOSEPH EQUEMELING,	BAT the Portuguese,
PERRE le GRAND,	Capt. SHARP,
PLONOS,	Capt. WATLING,
OCHE BRASILIANO,	Capt. COOK, &c.

Together with  
Curious Description of the Manners, Customs,  
Dress, and Ceremonies of the *Indians* inhabiting  
near Cape Gracias a Dios.

Published for the Improvement and Entertainment of  
the British Youth of both Sexes.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE Bucaniers of America.

Océph Esquemeling, with Pierre le Grand, Lolono, Roche Brasillano, Bat the Portuguele, and others, sailed on board the St. John, the 2d of May 1666, from Havre de Grace in France. She mounted eight and twenty guns, had twenty mariners on board, with two hundred and twenty passengers, including in that number, those sent out free by the company. They in a short time after came to an anchor under the cape of Messour, in order to be joined there by seven other ships of the West India company, who were to rendezvous there from Dieppe, under the convoy of a thirty six gun frigate, with two hundred and fifty men on board. Five of these ships were bound for the Caribbee Islands, two for Bengal, and the ship the above mentioned adventurers were in for Tortuga. About twenty sail of ships bound for Newfoundland came up to them, with some Dutch bound to St. Martin's, Rochelle, and Antwerp: so by this junction they composed a fleet of thirty sail.

Having received intelligence that four English sixty gun ships of war waited for them near Alderney, they put themselves in a posture of defence. Cavalier Bourdis, their admiral, having given all necessary orders, and the wind favouring them, they sailed from

thence. In order to avoid their dreaded enemy, the fleet sailed as near as they could, with safety to the English shore. They met a vessel off oslend, which complained to their admiral that she had been plundered by a French privateer that morning; and a fruitless effort was made to take and punish the privateer, which had more speed than the pursuers.

The inhabitants of the coast of France were greatly alarmed at this fleet's sailing so near the shore, (being ignorant of the reason) and apprehended it to be the English, seeking for a commodious place to land in. On perceiving the alarm they had caused on the French shore, they hung out white colours to dissipate the fears, and after anchored in the bay of Cœquet in Brittany, not far from Ushant, to take in water; where having taken in a store of fresh provisions, they continued their voyage, and resolved to pass by the Ras Fontenan, not to endanger themselves by passing near the Sorlingues, where they apprehended the English were then cruising.

The river Ras has a swift and violent current, which precipitating over many rocks, disembogues itself into the sea on the French coast, 48 degrees 10 minutes latitude, which passage was very dangerous on account of the rocks not being then sufficiently known. Having got safely by the Ras, the weather continued very fine till they reached Cape Finisterre, where they were surprized by a sudden storm, which separated their ship from the rest of the fleet. It lasted eight days, in which succeeded very favourable gales, that continued till they reached the tropic of Cancer. The weather was very fine in that part of the world; but they were in great want of water, which was become so scarce with them, that each man was allotted to two half pints per day.

They met an English frigate or privateer, about the latitude of Barbadoes, which gave them chase, but soon

## BUCANIERS of AMERICA. 5

secreted off, judging herself not sufficiently strong to  
 take them; whereupon they pursued, firing several  
 eight pounders at her; but she having made off, they  
 returned to their course. They soon after came in sight  
 of Martinico. They had intended for the coast of the  
 isle of St. Peter, but an intervening storm defeated  
 their intent; wherefore they determined to steer to  
 Guadalupe, but the same storm opposed their reach-  
 ing that island: they then directed their course to the  
 island of Tortuga.

They sailed along the coast of Punta Rica, which  
 offers a very pleasant prospect to the eye, being beau-  
 tified with fine woods to the very summit of the moun-  
 tains. They next discovered Hispaniola, and coasted  
 about till they came to their long wish'd-for port in  
 the island of Tortuga, where they cast anchor on the  
 10th of July the same year. In that voyage they were  
 as lucky as not to have lost a man. They landed the  
 goods belonging to the West India company; and the  
 ship, with some passengers, was sent soon after to  
 St. de Sac.

A few Spaniards were the first Europeans who had  
 possessed themselves of this island, but were afterwards  
 expelled by some French, who having increased their  
 numbers, established themselves there in spite of all  
 Spanish efforts to extirpate them. Having made the  
 island as convenient and secure to them, as the circum-  
 stances of affairs would permit, they began to people it,  
 and each to follow its favourite manner of living: some  
 by hunting, others by planting tobacco, many by cru-  
 sading and plundering the coasts of the Spanish islands.  
 The self-instituted governors of this island behaved not  
 only as proprietors, but as absolute monarchs thereof,  
 till 1664, at which time the West India company of  
 French took possession thereof, and sent another Mon-  
 sieur Ogeron to act as their governor. The company  
 by means of their factors and servants planted the

colony for themselves exclusively of all others, and thought to carry on with the Spaniards some considerable branch of trade. But their hopes were disappointed in as much as they could not carry on any trade with other nations, because from the beginning they could not establish any secure commerce with their own. From this company's first institution in France, they stipulated with the planters, hunters, pirates, &c. first possessors of Tortuga, that all their necessities should be bought upon trust from the said company.

But the factors of this company soon discovered that they could neither recover cash nor returns of any kind from them, and were often necessitated to bring armed men into the island, to get in part of the payment due to the company. In consequence, every endeavour about settling a second trade with these islanders proved ineffectual; the company therefore recalled their factors, having sent them orders to dispose of all that was their own in the said plantation, as well as the servants belonging to the company (which were sold, some for twenty, others for thirty pieces of eight) as also all their properties and merchandizes whatsoever. On this occasion Joseph Esquemeling belonging to the said company, in whose service he left France, was sold.

Poor Esquemeling had the hard fortune to fall to the lot of the most cruel and perfidious monster that ever disgraced human form, and who was then governor, or rather lieutenant general of the island. He made Esquemeling suffer all sorts of hard treatment; nearly almost starved him to death; but declared at the last time that he was very well inclined to let him purchase his liberty at the rate of 300 pieces of eight, nothing less. This offer was the more provoking, as the poor wretch was not worth one at the time.

Esquemeling, through the various miseries he had endured, as well as vexation of mind, fell dangerously ill, which misfortune, in appearance, turned out a



## BUCANIERS of AMERICA.

inspires to him, for his avaricious master startled at his sickly condition, lest he should lose his money (with E'quemeling's life, his least concern) sold him for seven-  
traded pieces of eight to a surgeon; under whom, being  
humanely treated, he soon began to recover his health.  
The surgeon gave him clothes, and very good food, and  
after one year's service offered him his liberty, on the  
full condition of paying him 100 pieces of eight when-  
soever he should be able.

E'quemeling set at liberty, was naked, and destitute  
of all necessaries of life. Not knowing which way to  
king for a subsistence, he resolved to take on with the pi-  
rates, among whom he was received *rem. can.* and to  
his utmost abilities assisted them in all their designs  
and attempts, acting a conspicuous part in some of their  
most famous exploits.

The cruelty of the planters to their servants is almost  
credible. Among the many thousand instances that  
could be related, let the following account suffice to  
convey an idea thereof: An unhappy wretch, unable to  
bear any longer the barbarous usage of his master to  
him, ran away in despair. After a few days he was  
found in the woods, and brought back to his wicked  
persecuter, who indulged himself in the flattering  
thoughts of the torments he would make him endure.

Having ordered this unfortunate man to be tied to a  
tree, and stripped, he did not cease lashing him on the  
back till the blood streamed from it; then to encrease  
the smarting pain of his wounds, he had him anointed  
with lemon juice, mixed with pepper and salt. He left  
him tied to the tree during 24 hours in this miserable  
situation, and then renewed his barbarity by punishing  
the tortured wretch as before, who just as he expired  
under the lash of this monster, thus addressed himself  
to heaven: *I beseech the Omnipotent to permit the evil  
which he has sent to make you feel before death, tortures equal to those  
with which you have put an end to my life.*



In three or four days after this horrid murder, eternal justice, which had heard the cries of the expiring wretch permitted the master of darkness to take possession of this wicked master, and make him turn his cruel hands against his own body, which he beat unmercifully, and tore his flesh till he lost the shape of a man, howling and roaring night and day, without being able to take a moment's rest, and continued outrageously maddened till he expired.

Although the planters in Hispaniola and Tortuga had men, yet those of the Carribee islands are worse and more inhumane to their servants. A planter named Bertola in the island of St. Christophers beat above a hundred servants to death. The English planters too are cruel masters, for their mildest punishment to their servants is, that when six years of their time is served (being always bound for seven) they practise studied cruelties on them, in order to force the wretches to commit their tyrant masters to sell them to another, though it be to commence a new servitude of seven, or thirty years at least. Thus many have not been able to obtain their freedom, till at the end of fifteen or twenty years. Another terrible use amongst the English is, if a man is indebted to another for a sum exceeding five and twenty shillings, and is unable to discharge it, his creditor can sell him for six or eight months to reimburse himself. From such intolerable severities many have sought refuge among the pirates.

Pirates is a denomination given to a set of men, that, unauthorized by any legal government, infect the seas. The Spanish monarchs have on several occasions sent ambassadors to England and France to complain of the vexations caused on the coast of America by those pirates, even in peaceable times. The answer to such complaints was, that they were a lawless banditti, who acted without any sanction from either court, and that

Spanish majesty might proceed against them in what manner they pleased. Pierre le Grand, a native of Dieppe in Normandy, was the first pirate who sailed in 1628. His taking the vice admiral of the Spanish fleet near the cape of Tiburon rendered him famous, and justly so, inasmuch as with only a small boat and 28 men, he performed this bold action. Before this surprizing event, the Spaniards passed and sailed through the channel of Bahama with all security. As a full account of this gallant exploit must necessarily give pleasure to the reader, an extract from a journal thereof will set it in a full light.

Pierre le Grand, and his company, had been a long time at sea in the boat without meeting any thing worth notice, and their provisions beginning to fail, were threatened with an approaching famine. In the midst of their despair they discovered a large ship of the Spanish Fleet separated from the rest, which they resolved to make themselves masters of, or perish in the attempt. Whereupon, in order to view her force they sailed round her, which, notwithstanding their being convinced of her superiority, their desperate situation urged them to attempt.

When they had drawn so near to the Spanish ship, that there was no possibility of escaping, the company took a voluntary oath to assist to the last their brave captain, Pierre le Grand. They began their attack in the middle of the evening, he having ordered the surgeon, before they engaged, to bore a hole in the side of the ship, that the sinking under them, all hands might be enabled an unavoidable necessity of boarding the Spaniards, which was immediately done, without any other arms but a cutlass in the one hand, and a pistol in the other. As they were climbing up the sides of the ship, they ran in a sudden into the great cabin, where they found the captain with others at cards. He was commanded to deliver up the ship; a pistol being presented to his breast.

Astonished at so unexpected a visit, the scared Spaniards crossed themselves, crying out, *St. Anthony protect us! are those devils, or what?* Some of le Grand's men in the mean time took possession of the gun-room, and seized the captain, who was opposed, which made the Spaniards surrender presently.

The captain of the Spanish vessel had been told by some of his sailors that very day, that were sure to be a boat, which was cruizing in view was manned with pirates, which information the captain treated with contempt. *What, think you I can fear such a paultry thing as that? I should not fear her, were she a vessel as large and strong as mine.*

Pierre le Grand being master of this rich prize, detained as many of the common seamen as he judged would be necessary to him; the rest of the crew were set on shore, and then sailed for Old France; where he remained and never returned to America.

As soon as the news of this rich prize's having been so easily taken had reached Tortuga, the planters and hunters there resolved to commence pirates, deeming it a more profitable trade than their own. Their first care was to procure some small boats, but there being no opportunity of either buying or building any at Tortuga, they resolved to go in quest of them elsewhere in their canoes, in which they had first cruized upon Cape de Alverex, where from one city to another the Spaniards carried on their trade in small vessels. They used also to lade them with hides, tobacco and other commodities for the Havannah, which place was frequented by the Spaniards from Europe.

The inhabitants of Tortuga, encouraged by the repeated successes, the wealth of the country being thereby so much increased in two years time, declared so generally for piracy, that in a little time two hundred bottoms were manned from that small island. The Spanish traders being no longer able to resist the

nderers, two large men of war were fitted out, to  
ize against the enemy, and protect their own coasts.  
The customs observed among the pirates are enter-  
ing. Before they put to sea, notice is given to  
interested in such a vessel of the day of her intend-  
departure, and each man is to bring so many pound  
powder and ball. When the crew are all on board,  
they consult about which is the best place to get pro-  
visions in, particularly flesh, for they seldom eat any  
else; and of flesh, pork is their most common  
it; they sometimes use tortoises, which they salt a  
vessel.

In order to procure pork, they plunder the Spanish  
yards in some of which there are sometimes a  
ousand heads of swine. They assail them in the  
ight time, and having surrounded the keeper's lodge,  
they force him to rise, and deliver to them as many  
they please to demand, menacing to murder him in  
se of a refusal, or if he should attempt to give any  
arm.

They repair to their ship when they think they  
ve got a sufficient store of flesh for their voyage.  
their method in regard to provision, when on board,  
to allow every person as much as he can eat, with-  
ut measure or weight, twice a-day. And the ship's  
eward gives to the meanest man on board eatables  
nd drinkables as good as to the captain.

Every thing in readiness for a cruise, they delibe-  
ate where they shall try their fortune, and agree upon  
ertain articles to be observed by every person, couch-  
d in writing, and signed by most of them. The re-  
pective sums of money each person shall be entitled  
o for that voyage is set down. The fund for all pay-  
ments being whatever booty may happen to fall in  
their hands; for no captures, no wages, nor shares.

According to their piratical usage, they first set  
own how much the captain is intitled to for his ship:  
Secondly, The salary of the carpenter who careened,



repaired, and rigged her; which commonly amount to a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pieces of eight two hundred, or two hundred and fifty pieces of eight are commonly rated for the surgeon, and his chest of drugs. Thirdly, They settle what each wounded maimed person ought to have; they usually allow hundred pieces of eight for the loss of a right arm five hundred ditto, for the loss of the left; five hundred ditto, for a right leg, four hundred for the left a hundred for an eye. These sums are first deducted from the common stock produced by their piracy and of the remainder a very exact dividend is made.

In their sharing they are not regardless of quality of place. Four common seamen's shares are allotted the captain, to the master's mate two, and so in proportion to the other officers: after whom, from the highest to the lowest mariner, they draw equal parts. The boys are not neglected among them; they draw half a share, because when pirates take a better vessel than their own, the duty of the boys is to set fire to the old one, and retire to the new prize.

Great order and discipline is observed among them; it is strictly prohibited to every person to appropriate any article of a prize, in order that an equal division may be made of all that fortune throws in their way. They take a very solemn oath not to conceal any thing which shall be found on board the prizes; and whoever is proved to have broken it, is immediately cashiered.

They behave very courteously and charitably to each other, never refusing to oblige or serve another with what they have. Their practice as soon as they have taken a prize, is to put the prisoners ashore as soon as they can; they detain only a few, whom they think may be of service to them in one shape or other; and at the end of two or three years release them according to their custom. In order to refresh themselves they repair sometimes to one island, sometimes to



The southern parts of Cuba are a favourite seat; there their vessels are careened, whilst some, and others cruize for prizes in their canoes. poor tortoise fishermen are often taken by them, made to work during the pleasure of their arbitrary master.

At Campeachy and New Spain the inhabitants import their commodities in very large ships. Those of Campeachy sail in the winter season to the Canaries, Trinity isles, and that of Margarita, and in summer return thither; which stated voyages and runs, the pirates not being ignorant of, they cruize between the two above-mentioned places; but when they have met with no considerable booty, rather than return home poorly freighted, they determine to go on some very hazardous enterprize, as is exemplified in the following instance.

Pierre Francois having waited a long time at sea in his boat with twenty-six men, for the ships that were to return from Maracaibo to Campeachy, and having no hopes of a booty that way, changed his route to Rancheiras, near the river de la Plata, in which latitude 12 degrees and a half. A rich bank of pearls is in these parts; to the fishery whereof, twelve vessels under the convoy of a man of war, are annually sent from Carthagena. In each vessel are two negroes, expert in diving, to the depth of six fathoms, where great plenty of pearls is found. Pierre Francois had a longing eye after this Pearl Fleet, and rather than return home empty handed, resolved to attack them while they were riding at anchor at the mouth of the river Da la Hacha, though the ship of war was not above half a league's distance from the smaller vessels, but it was quite calm weather.

Pierre Francois having taken a full view of them, he let down his sails, and rowed along shore, feigning to be a Spanish vessel coming from Maracaibo; as soon as he had reached the Pearl Bank, he at-

tacked the vice admiral, of eight guns, with men, and forced her to strike to him. The vice admiral taken, his next design was on the ship of if he could conquer her, he should soon make his master of the whole fleet.

In order to accomplish this rash project, he sunk his own boat, hung out Spanish colours, and shoved gallantly on before a springing gale of wind; having promises, as well as threats, obliged most of the men (taken on board the vice admiral, in which he now sailed) to assist him; but the ship of war, observing one of the fleet to sail, did so too, fearing the elopement of the mariners on board, in order to get off the treasure therein embarked. This movement of the ship of war induced the pirate to desist from the enterprize he thought his crew unequal to, the enemy being alarmed: Therefore, consulting his own safety, he endeavoured to get out of the river, and gain the open seas, crowding as much sail as possible to facilitate his flight; which the man of war having observed, gave instant chase. But the pirate from his eagerness to get off, having too much sail, and a sudden fall of wind arising, the mainmast was brought down, and the board, and his escape obstructed.

Which event gave new spirits to those on board the ship of war, as they gained on the pirate every moment, and soon overtook him, resolved notwithstanding his misfortune, to defend himself as long as possible, which he did for some time with amazing courage, and struck not to the man of war till after a various capitulation, that his crew should not be treated in any sort as slaves, but be safely landed, and left to go any where they pleased; for which terms he yielded up all their store; in pearls alone worth a 100,000 pieces of eight: besides the vessel, provisions, goods, &c.

Bartholomew the Portuguese was another pirate equally enterprising. He cruised in a boat with

and four small guns, from Jamaica upon the de Corriente, in Cuba, where he met a great ship from Maracaibo and Carthagena, bound to the Havannah, carrying twenty great guns and seventy men, besides mariners and passengers. He did not hesitate about assaulting her, who on the other hand made a resolute defence. The pirate having escaped the first encounter, resolved that the second should be more vigorous, he not having been in the least daunted; and the second attack he pursued with such desperate and determinate bravery, that after a long bloody fight the large ship struck to him. In this action the Portuguese had but ten men killed and but four wounded. The conquered Spaniards double the number of fighting men that were with the Portuguese. As soon as he had taken possession of the ship, the wind not being fair for Jamaica, they determined to shape their course to coast St. Anthony, which lies westward of Cuba; there to refit and take fresh water, which began to fail them. Near the coast they met unexpectedly three ships coming from Spain, and bound for the Havannah; the pirate and his prize were taken, and all on board made prisoners, and stripped of the riches which they had so lately taken.

The cargo consisted of 120,000 weight of cocoa-nuts, the principal ingredient of chocolate, and 70,000 pounds of sugar. A violent storm arose two days after this misfortune, which separated the ships from each other. The great vessel in which the pirates were, arrived at Campeachy, where many considerable merchants came and saluted the captain. They presently showed the Portuguese pirate, having been long infamous for his insolencies, cruelties, and murders on the coast, and recent in all their memories.

The magistrates of the city sent to demand the prisoners, the next day after their arrival, that they might be punished according to their deserts. But in order

to prevent the captain of the pirate's making his escape (as he had formerly done when their prisoner before they thought proper to leave him guarded on board) while the gibbet he was to be hanged on the following day was erecting. And no other provision was to be made in regard to him, than to lead him from the ship to the gibbet. The rumour of his execution having soon reached Bartholomew Portuguese, he made every attempt to escape that night.

His expedient was, to procure two earthen jars wherein the Spaniards carry wine from Spain to the West Indies; he stopped them very well, meaning to use them for swimming, as those unskilled in that exercise employ blown bladders, or corks. This necessary preparation made, he waited till all were asleep but having observed that the centinel's vigilance was against his project, he stabbed him with a knife he had secretly purchased; then plunged into the sea with the earthen jars. With their assistance, though unskilled in swimming he gained the shore, and ran to the woods immediately. There he lay hid for three days, not daring to appear, nor eating any other food than wild herbs.

Diligent search was made for him next day by the soldiers of the city, and particularly in the woods, where they judged he had repaired. Portuguese saw the strict search, from the hollow of a tree wherein he hid, and upon their return, he made all possible dispatch to Del Golpo Triste, forty leagues from Capetachy. He arrived there within a fortnight after his escape; during which period, and for some time after he suffered all the extremities of hunger and thirst (having no other provision with him than a small Calabacca with a little water) besides the fears of falling again into the hands of the Spaniards. He found nothing but a few shell fish, which he found among the rocks near the sea shore; and being obliged to pass some rivers, unexperienced in swimming, he at length



is else should be hang'd up as soon as taken, Lolonois their  
bestain only accepted; who at all events was to be  
on brought alive to the Havannah.

On the ship arrived at Cayos, and not unknown to  
pirates, who instead of sheering off dismayed,  
ad boldly fought her riding at anchor in the river Estera.  
his the fishermen were seized in the night by the pi-  
guis, and forced to shew them the entry to the port;  
they were very near to the ship after two in the morn-  
en j, and the watch on board the latter having asked  
to en whence they came, and if they had seen any pi-  
ning abroad; one of the fishermen who had been made  
hat oner by the pirates, was caused to answer, that they  
ne seen neither pirates, nor any thing else.

About break of day they were convinced of the  
e mstrary, for the canoes having attacked the vessel on  
nise h sides with such vigour, that though the Spani-  
he s defended themselves bravely, making some use of  
tho ar great guns, they were forced to surrender to the  
d mates, who, sword in hand, drove them down under  
r th hatches. Lolonois commanded them to be brought  
er f one by one on the deck, and their heads to be suc-  
lively struck off. The little negroe designed to be

y th pirates executioner was brought up among the  
hit t. This scared wretch implored mercy in a la-  
w untainable manner, but in vain; he was murdered with  
he e rest. Lolonois let but one survive, and him he  
le d to the governor of the Havannah with this writ-  
Ca n message, viz. *That henceforward no Spaniard  
er ould have any quarter from him, by the way of re-  
affiliation for the kindness intended for his companions  
thid him, and that he wished for an opportunity of  
sm actising on the governor.*

t f By this success Lolonois acquired a good ship, but  
le d neither a sufficient complement of men, nor a ne-  
mo lary quantity of provisions. He therefore resolved  
o p cruize from one port to another, in order to recruit  
eng th, which scheme not succeeding according to his



wishes for some time, he resolved to steer to the port of Maracaibo. There he found a ship laden with plate and other commodities outward bound, to purchase cocoa-nuts. He returned to Tortuga with this prize where there was an universal rejoicing on that occasion. They congratulated at the same time his happy success, and their own private interest.

Lolonois did not long remain here, having designed to equip a fleet sufficient to transport 500 men with all offensive and defensive necessaries. Thus provided, he resolved to plunder villages, towns, cities and to conclude by making himself master of Maracaibo. He knew that for such enterprizes he could readily draw a stout body of men from Tortuga. He had moreover in his service several prisoners well acquainted with the places and the roads to and fro, against which his schemes were levelled.

Notice of his design being communicated to all the pirates at home and abroad, he collected above four hundred men in a little time, and was joined by another pirate of Tortuga called Michael de Basco. They all embarked in eight vessels; that of Lolonois being the greatest, they mounted ten guns, but indeed of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the company on board they sailed together about the end of April, their number amounting to 600. They steered to the port called Bayala, north of Hispaniola. Here they recruited their companies with some fresh hunters who offered themselves as volunteers: and here all provisions necessary for a voyage were taken in. About the end of July they sailed from thence, steering directly to the eastern cape of the isle called Punta de Espade where they discovered a ship laden with cocoa-nuts and bound for New Spain from Puerto Rico.

Lolonois orders to the rest of the fleet, were to wait for him near Savono, eastward of Cape Punta de Espade, having resolved to take the ship himself with

their assistance. The Spaniards, who had been in the two hours (tho' they knew that their neighbours were pirates) did not attempt to make their escape; but being well appointed in every sense, prepared for battle. They fought three hours, and suffered much before they struck. Their ship mounted sixteen guns, and had fifty fighting men on board; 120,000 weight of cocoa, 40 000 pieces of eight, and the value of 50 000 more in jewels, were found on board. The vessel was immediately sent to Tortuga to be unladed by Lolonois's order, and to return as soon as possible to Savona, where he would wait for her. The rest of the fleet arrived in the interim at Savona, and had taken a Spanish vessel coming from Goman with military provisions to Hispaniola, and money for the payment of the garison. Though this vessel mounted eight guns, they took her without any resistance. There were 7000 weight of powder, a great number of muskets, with other warlike articles, and 12,000 pieces of eight found on board. These lucky beginnings gave the pirates great spirits. On the arrival of the prize ship at Tortuga, the governor ordered her to be immediately unladen, and sent back soon after to the victorious Lolonois with all requisites for piratical expeditions. Thus Lolonois chose for himself, and gave to his comerade Anthony Dupuis, the vessel he, Lolonois had commanded. Recruited now for the loss of men he had suffered in taking the prizes, he found himself in sailing condition for Maracaibo, in the province of Venezuela, from which the continuous gulph derived its name, though called the gulph of Maracaibo by the pirates.

Lolonois whose reputation increased by his constant successes, resolved to visit Nicaragua, in order to plunder there as many towns as he could; wherefore subsequent to the publication of his new preparations he had all his men, amounting to 900, collected at the appointed time; he embarked 300 of them in th

ship he had taken at Maracaibo, and the rest were on board of five other vessels of lesser burden. Being in Hispaniola was the first port they steered to, to take in provisions and victual their fleet; having sailed a great way, and performed no mighty feats, they arrived at last at Puerto Cavello, where the Spaniards have two store-houses, in which are lodged the merchandizes brought from the interior parts of the country, till the arrival of the ships. There was at that time a Spanish ship of twenty-four guns, and fifteen pederos, or mortar-pieces. The pirates made an immediate seizure of her, and landing near the shore burnt all the houses with the two magazines. They made many inhabitants prisoners, on whom they wantonly practised the most shocking cruelties.

The prisoners were (save two) dispatched, who were reserved, not through any principle of moderation but in order that they might shew Lolonois what he desired to see. He then marched to the town of San Pedro, ten or twelve leagues distant from Puerto Cavello, at the head of 3000 men, his lieutenant, Morvan Vin, being left behind to govern the rest in his absence. When Lolonois and his party were advanced about three leagues on their way, they were met by a troop of Spaniards, who had lain in ambush for them, and after great proof of courage were defeated. The pirates overpowered and forced them to fly precipitately, having suffered a great loss; the wounded, maimed, and disabled of the defeated enemy, Lolonois put to death without mercy, having previously put to them what questions he thought proper.

Lolonois, extremely provoked at the frequent ambushes of the Spaniards, and because the Spanish prisoners did not shew them another road to avoid them though they knew not any, drew his cutlass, and with it cut open the breast of one of those wretched Spaniards, and having pulled out his heart, bit, gnawed, and tore it with his teeth like a ravenous wolf, swearing

to the rest, that if they did not shew him another way, he would serve them all so.

Pursuant to some subsequent successes, Lolonois being called a counsel of war, told them he intended for Guatamaia; but the major part thinking the proposed voyage but of very little consequence, separated from Lolonois and his adherents. Moses Vanden, captain of the ship taken by Puerto Cavallo, was one of the chief dissenters from Lolonois; he sailed directly for Tortuga, in order to cruize in the neighbouring seas. He was joined by an intimate companion Pierre le Picard, who following the example of others, abandoned Lolonois and steered seaward. In their way they took and pillaged a ship, which it must be owned the Spaniards gallantly defended.

Deserted Lolonois remained in the gulph of Honduras, his ship being too large to get out of these seas at their reflux. He and his suffered so much through want of provisions, that they were necessitated to go ashore every day, where they killed and ate monkeys, and all other animals that presented themselves. To aggravate his misfortunes, in the cape of Gracias a Dios, his ship struck on a sand bank near the little island called De las Pertas, where she stuck so fast that no force could work her off, though all her guns, iron, and other weighty things, as far as practicable, had been taken out. In this extremity they were forced to break up the ship in pieces, and with the planks and nails to build themselves a boat for their escape from the shipwreck.

Lolonois (after several interveening difficulties in building and equipping a boat) set sail in her, and in a few days arrived in the River Nicaragua. Here he was also persecuted by that ill fortune which had for a long time stuck to him, and was reserved by Providence as a just punishment due to the multitude of his atrocious crimes committed in his most licentious wick-



edness. Here he was met by Spaniards and Indians who jointly assailing him and his companions, killed the greater part of them.

Lolonois, with a few survivors, reached their boat with great difficulty, and went in quest of boats at Carthagena in order to bring home in them his companions he had been obliged to leave at the isle of Pertas. Lolonois was no sooner arrived there, than he thought to act his cruelties anew, but the Indians of Darien a few days after his arrival took him prisoner, and tore him to pieces whilst alive, throwing his body, limb by limb, into the fire, and scattering his ashes to the wind, that no trace might remain of this terrible monster. Many of his companions taken in that rencounter were torn to pieces, burnt, and scattered in the air in the same manner their barbarous master was.

Henry Morgan was the son of a gentleman farmer in Wales, and when very young, owned a great dislike to his father's manner of living; wherefore he quit his native country, and went to seek in the ports, which he long wished to have a view of, for employment more suitable to the ambitious turn of his mind, than that of a farmer was. Having seen several ships riding at anchor which were bound to Barbadoes, and being struck at the same time with the presage of his future fortune, he without hesitation resolved to enter into their service. He was accepted, and according to the laudable practice of Barbadoes, he was sold as soon as landed there. Having served out his time, and obtained his liberty, he repaired to Jamaica in order to better his fortune, where he found two pirate vessels ready to sail; which, joined to his being unemployed, induced him to go with them, and embrace a manner of living, nature qualified him for.

After three or four successful and profitable voyages he covenanted with some of his comrades, who



ed much by the said voyages, to join their stocks  
his and purchase a ship. The vessel being bought,  
unanimously chose him captain, and commander.  
h this ship he sailed from Jamaica to cruize on  
coasts of Campeachy. He took several ships in  
voyage, with which he returned in triumph.

at his return he found the old pirate Mansvelt busy  
etting out a considerable fleet, with a design to land  
he continent, and commit all practicable depre-  
ons. Mansvelt readily concluded from Morgan's  
ng returned with so many prizes that he was a  
of intrepidity: he therefore chose him vice-  
iral for his intended expedition. They sailed  
fifteen large and small vessels from Jamaica,  
ng on board of their little fleet 500 French and  
lloons. They soon arrived at the isle of St. Ca-  
ine, near the continent of Costa Rica, where they  
e their first descent, landing most of their men,  
soon compelled the garrison entrusted with the  
nce of the island, to surrender it with all the castles  
forts, which they immediately destroyed to one,  
rain they lodged 100 men of their party, with all  
laves they had taken from the Spaniards.

they marched the rest of their corps to a little  
ighbouring island, and so near to St. Catharine's  
they passed thither in in a few days over a bridge  
ch they made for that purpose, and they carried  
them all the ordnance they had taken in the  
t island. As soon as they had compleated the ruin  
both the islands with fire and sword, they put to  
again with their Spanish prisoners, whom they set  
re soon after on the firm land near Puerto Velo.  
y then continued their cruize till they came to  
river Colla, intending to plunder all the towns in  
e parts. But the governor of Panama having got  
diligence of it, prevented the pirates design; where-  
they returned to St. Catharine's, to visit the 100  
they had left in garrison there. Mansvelt died

in a trip he had made to Tortuga, in order to raise m

On the death of Mansvelt, Morgan succeeding the chief command, used all possible means to take the island of St. Catharine, seated near Cuba, in possession, his principal intent being to make it a safe and sanctuary to the pirates of those parts; in spite of all Morgan's efforts, the Spaniards recovered the said island; who, not dispirited by this loss, meditated new schemes. He had been but two months in the Southern parts of Cuba when he assembled a fleet of twelve sail, between large boats and ships, which seven hundred fighting men, part French, English, were embarked.

Their little council called, they debated on, and rejected several proposed expeditions; on account of their apparent impracticability. The proposition of assaulting the town of El Puerto del Principe, being universally approved, Morgan ordered every ship to weigh anchor and sail to the coast nearest to the town. Being arrived in the bay called Puerto Santa Maria, a Spanish prisoner swam ashore by night from the pirates fleet, and gave intelligence of the design to the inhabitants of the town; who, upon salutary advice, began to hide their riches, and to remove off their moveables.

The governor gathered about 800 men. prepared ambuscades for the pirates, and took possession of an advantageous stand, from which he could see the pirates advance. Morgan, with his men, finding the avenues to the town rendered unpassable, they cut out to themselves a new way through the wood, which they found very difficult to execute: but by what means, however they escaped several ambuscades prepared for them. They came at length to the place called the Sheet, from its figures; la Savannabon Spanish.

The governor observing them to advance, detached a troop of horse to charge them in front, thinking

BUCANIERS *of* AMERICA. 29

The battle lasted four hours, in which the pirates but few killed and wounded. The town soon surrendered; and as soon as the pirates had possessed themselves of it, they shut up all the Spaniards, men, women, children and slaves, in several churches, plundering all they met: then they pillaged the country about of all they could find. The greatest part of the Spanish prisoners were famished to death.

organ's final demand on them, was five hundred with sufficient salt to powder them, and that should carry them on board his ship. Thus he set from the town with all his men, taking with only six of the principal prisoners, as pledges. Spaniards brought the cattle and salt to the ships day, and required the prisoners, whom captain refused to deliver till they had helped his men and salt the beeves; which being quickly dis-

patched, and having received the articles he wanted on board his vessels, he released the hostages, and sailed from thence to an island, where captain Morgan intended to make a dividend of what he had got on that voyage. When arrived there, they found they had in money and goods but near the value of 50,000 pieces of eight, which caused a general grief among them in as much as their Jamaica debts by far exceeded that sum.

Wherefore their leader, captain Morgan, proposed to them to think on some other expedition and plunder, rather than return home insolvent. But the French and English disagreeing, the former left captain Morgan with his own countrymen, notwithstanding all the arguments he used to persuade them to remain in his company. The English, though taken by the French, resolved to a man, to adhere to their brave commander, who was also joined on occasion by a pirate of Campeachy; so that in a few days captain Morgan had a fleet of nine sail, either ships or great boats; wherein he embarked four hundred and sixty men. Every thing being in readiness, captain Morgan communicated his real design to everybody, but put to sea. He steered towards the continent, where he arrived in a few days near Costa Rica; his fleet in good order. The moment land was discovered, Morgan declared his scheme to the captains, and soon after to the company. The plundering of Porto Bello by night, he told them, was his scheme, which they approved unanimously, unmoved by the strength of the place.

The intrepid Morgan, knowing perfectly well the avenues of the city, and of the neighbouring country, arrived at Puerto de Naos, ten leagues to the west of Puerto Bello in the dusk of the evening. From whence they sailed up the river to another harbour called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored. Here they divided themselves into boats and canoes, leaving in the



a few men to bring them next day to the port. They came to a place about midnight, called Estera de Lemos where they all went ashore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city. Their guide was an Englishman, who had formerly been a prisoner in those parts. He and a few more were commissioned to take the sentinel, if practicable; if not, to kill him on the spot. But they played their parts well, and seized him so cunningly, that he had not time to give warning with his musket, or to make any resistance. They brought him (having pinioned his hands) before their commander, Morgan, who questioned him about the situation and strength of the city, and other interesting points, menacing him with death for each question, in case he prevaricated, or swerved in the least from truth.

They advanced towards the city, carrying the said sentinel bound before them. When they had marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the castle near the city, which they so suddenly invested, that no person could get in or out. Captain Morgan, now posted under the walls, commanded their prisoner, the sentinel, to speak to those within, charging them to surrender to his discretion, otherwise they should undergo military execution.

But they in the castle, on the other hand, not regarding such threats, began to fire immediately, to the city's great alarm. Though the governor and soldiers made a vigorous defence, they were forced at last to surrender. The cruel conquerors, to make good their threats, shut up all the officers and soldiers in one room, and having set fire to a great quantity of powder, blew up the castle, with all the Spaniards therein.

They next assailed the city, which as yet was not prepared for their reception. Several of the inhabitants threw their precious jewels and cash into wells and cisterns, or dug holes to hide them in the ground,



that the pirates might not carry off all. One part of them, as commissioned, ran to the cloisters and took as many religious men and women as they could find. Though unable to rally the citizens, on account of their great confusion, the governor retired to one of the castles yet remaining, and from thence kept continual firing on the pirates, to which they eventually replied, killing several Spaniards at each charge: which provoked them to a still more vigorous defence; and that alarmed Morgan, lest he should fail in his attempt.

For a decisive effort, he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made with all expedition, and so bro't that three or four men might mount together. As soon as they were finished, he commanded all the religious men and women, who had lately been made prisoners to fix them against the walls of the castle threatening the governor, at the same time, with military execution, should he refuse to yield the castle; but the governor's officer-like answer was, *That he would never surrender himself alive*.

Morgan had imagined that the governor would not employ his utmost force, when he should perceive the ecclesiastical persons and religious women exposed to the greatest danger, in the very front of the soldiers. But the governor, to fulfill his duty, destroyed whoever approached, without having regard to any distinction of persons; though the religious men and women cried out constantly to him, and implored him in the names of all the saints in heaven to yield the castle, and thereby save all their lives. But the governor, persevering inflexible in his duty, many of the pious folks were killed before they could fix the ladders; which done, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, with determined bravery, carrying fire balls in their hands, and earthen pots filled with powder, which when they had got on the top of the walls they kindled, and threw down among the Spaniards.

his assault of the pirates was so very impetuous, they made themselves master of the castle; the guards totally disabled from making any longer resistance, laid down their arms, and asked for quarter. The governor scorning to do, slew many of the pirates with his own hand, and several of his soldiers not having stood to their arms.

When the astonished pirates asked him if he would give quarter, his heroic answer was, *Not upon any account; for that he preferred to die a brave soldier, rather than be hanged as a base paltron.* They then made all endeavours to make him their prisoner, but continued fighting so desperately, that they were obliged to kill him in their own defence; who, notwithstanding the tears and intreaties of his kneeling wife and daughter to save his life, fought bravely to the last.

The pirates having entire possession of the castle that night, shut all the prisoners therein, having separated the women by themselves with some guards; the wounded were thrust into an apartment, to recover by the energy of their groans, no other surgeon being allowed to them. While the successful pirates, indulged in every kind of debauchery, committing several rapes, and every other outrageous action. Captain Morgan having extorted 100 000 pieces of eight, for the ransom of the prisoners, and for saving the town from being reduced to ashes, he provided his fleet with all necessaries; and having taken the best guns of the castle, he nailed up the rest, and sailed with all his ships from Puerto Bello. Arriving at Cuba in a few days he sought a proper place for the dividends of the spoil to be delivered. They found amongst their plunder, in ready money, 250,000 pieces of eight, with divers articles of merchandize; linen, cloth, silks, &c. With this great treasure they sailed to Jamaica, their common rendezvous, and there lived in riot and luxury.

It becoming necessary to undertake another expedition, in order to recruit their exhausted purses, they sailed for Savona, the place of their affination. Their fleet consisted of fifteen vessels; captain Morgan commanded the biggest, mounting only fourteen small guns. The number of his men did not exceed six hundred and ninety in the fifteen vessels; but on account that some of them had not joined him as yet, he reviewed the men with him, which were but five hundred effective. The vessels absent were seven; however, they weighed anchor, and steered towards Curasoa. As they were come within sight thereof, they landed at Ruba, another island situate to the westward of it about twelve leagues. This isle produces many venomous insects, such as vipers, spiders and others. The last are so pernicious, that a man bitten by them grows mad. The manner of recovering them is singular, which is, to tie them very fast, both hands and feet, during twenty-four hours, and keep them without eating or drinking any thing. — After two days desired to get in some necessaries, he sailed in the night, to no account might be given of what course he intended to steer.

They reached the sea of Maracaibo next day, taking great care not to be seen from Vigilia, and therefore anchored out of sight of it. But when night came they sailed again towards the land; and next morning by break of day, were got directly over, against the shore of the said lake. Since Lolonois's depredations the Spaniards had built another fort, from which they incessantly fired on the pirates, as they put their men into the boats in order to land them. In the obscurity of the night, captain Morgan drew near the fort but on examining, found it to be deserted.

They left a match lighted near a train of powder to blow up the pirates and the fortress, as soon as they should come into it; which Morgan having seen, pro-

and its taking off. He found several pieces of artillery, some of which, with great quantities of powder, he carried off with him, having nailed up the rest. When sailed for Maracaibo: when he landed his men, they ran immediately to the fort de la Barre; which, like the precedent, they found unguarded; all the inhabitants having fled from thence into the woods; none remained in the town but a few miserable people, who having nothing to lose, thought they had nothing to fear.

The pirates, on entering the town, searched every where, but finding that all the inhabitants were fled, they chose what houses they pleased: the church was appointed for the common *corps de Garde*. Morgan had detached an hundred men to seek for the inhabitants and their goods, who returned with thirty men, women, and children, and fifty mules laden with valuable articles. These unhappy wretches were sentenced to the rack, in order to extort a confession from them where the other inhabitants had concealed themselves, and what goods they had got with them. These cruelties were continued for three weeks during which time he sent out daily parties to seek for the people, to rob and torture them; they brought booty and treasure at each return.

Morgan having now gotten into his hands about a hundred of the principal families, with all their goods, resolved to sail for Gibraltar, as L'lonois had done before.

He provided his fleet with all necessaries; having all the prisoners on board, he weighed anchor, and proceeded, determined to give battle. Some prisoners he detached before him to Gibraltar, to persuade the inhabitants to surrender to captain Morgan: if not, they were to fear all the calamities of military execution.

Terrified by such a declaration, they all fled from the town on the arrival of the pirates, who there found but one man, and he was a natural, whom



they barbarously tortured and executed, thinking him to be rather an affected, than a real fool, to conceal thereby his rank and riches.

The pirates divided into parties, to search every where for the dispersed Spaniards: and those who unhappily fell into their hands, suffered the most cruel treatment, and so horrible for humanity to read. Thus, after they had been in possession of the place five entire weeks, and committed an infinite number of rapes, robberies, murders, &c. they concluded to depart, but previously thereto, some prisoners were ordered to go forth into the woods and fields, and collect a ransom for the town; otherwise it was to be burnt to ashes.

These unhappy wretches went as they were sent, and having searched the adjoining fields and woods, returned to captain Morgan, and informed him that they had scarce been able to find any body, but so such as they met they proposed his demands, to which their answer was, that the governor had prohibited them to give any ransom for the town; but they intreated a little patience, saying, that among themselves they would collect 500 pieces of eight.

Morgan at last weighed anchor, and sailed in haste for Maracaibo, where he arrived in four days, and found all things as he had left them. But he received the disagreeable news of three Spanish men of war being arrived at the entry of the lake, to wait the return of the pirates; and that the castle at the entrance thereof was put again into a good posture of defence; there being no scarcity of ammunition, men, guns, and every other requisite.

Morgan's mind being greatly perplexed by this news, he dispatched his swiftest sailing boat to view the entry of the lake, and try if the relation he had received was true. The boat, on her return next day, confirmed it; assuring him at the same time that they had taken so near a view of the ships, as to

have been in imminent danger from their shot; and asserted that the first ship mounted forty guns, the second thirty, and the smallest twenty-four, which caused a great consternation among the pirates, whose largest vessel had not above fourteen guns, and they but small ones. There appeared no possibility of escaping, either by sea or land.

Under so trying and disheartening a circumstance, Morgan resumed new courage; and resolving to give new proof of his undaunted spirit, sent a Spaniard to the admiral of those three ships, to demand a large ransom off him, for his having not burnt the city of Maracaibo. The pirates returned two days after, with a letter from Don Alfonso del Campoy Espinosa, admiral of the Spanish fleet, to captain Morgan, commander of the pirates; the contents of which were a summons to surrender all their prisoners and ill got riches, for which they should be let to retire, on condition of the pirates returning home to their respective countries, and renouncing that infamous manner of living; which indulgence, if refused, military execution on all was to be the consequence.

Morgan assembled his men in the market place of Maracaibo, and having communicated to them the purport of the letter, he asked their opinion in so critical a situation, whether they would chuse to die fighting for their liberty; or make a tame surrender of all they had acquired? They all declared for fighting. One among them said to captain Morgan, that he would undertake to destroy the largest of the three Spanish ships of war; adding, let it be the rest of the fleet's business to take care of the other two. The method he proposed was, to convert the vessel they had taken in the river of Gibraltar into a fire-ship; and to conceal her from being known by the enemy as such, her decks were to be filled with logs of wood, standing erect, with montera hats and caps to appear like men,

A like finesse was to be made use of at the port-holes that serve for the guns, wherein counterfeit cannon should be fixed, and English colours hung out at the stern; that by all this apparatus the should appear to the Spaniards as the pirates capital ship going to attack them. — This proposal, which was approved and agreed to, did not entirely remove their apprehensions of danger.

Therefore, captain Morgan sent next day two persons to Don Alfonso with these propositions, to wit: *First*, That he would quit the town of Maracaibo without damaging it in the least, or asking any ransom for not having burnt it. *Secondly*, That all the prisoners, one half of the slaves, should without ransom be set at liberty. *Thirdly*, That the four chief inhabitants of Gibraltar, whom he had in his custody as hostages for the promised contributions, should be sent home freely.

These propositions of captain Morgan, commander of the pirates, were immediately rejected as shameful, by Don Alfonso's declaring that he would not hear of any other accommodation, and by his orders this peremptory message was sent back. *That if they did not make a voluntary surrender of themselves into his hands within two days, agreeable to the conditions he had notified to them in his letter, he would by immediate attacking, force them to a compliance.*

On receipt of this arbitrary message Morgan made all necessary preparations for an engagement, resolving to fight his way out of the lake, rather than surrender any thing. His first care was to order all the slaves and prisoners being tied together under a sufficient guard: his next was to collect all the tar, pitch, and brimstone they could find in the town for the fitting out the fire-ship, as proposed above: and every article on board thereof was executed with great dexterity in order to deceive the Spaniards the more effectually. This completed, they prepared to go to the entry of the port.

All the prisoners were put into one great boat; and another of the largest boats, the plate, jewels, and all valuables were placed along with the women; into others were put the bales of goods and merchandise, and all bulky materials. In each of these three boats were three men well armed; the fire-ship was ordered to make the lead and attack the Spanish admiral. Morgan exacted an oath from all his companions, that they would conquer or perish, promising rewards to all those who should distinguish themselves in the action. Pursuant to so courageous a resolution, they sailed in quest of the Spaniards.

It was on the 30th of April 1669, that the Spaniards were seen riding at anchor in the middle of the entry of the lake by the pirates. Morgan, it being almost night, ordered his vessels to cast anchor, intending if forced, to fight them all night. Each vessel of his little fleet was ordered to keep a careful watch till morning, the enemy being within shot of them; at the break of day, they weighed anchor and sailed directly towards the Spaniards, who, on seeing the pirates move, began to do so too. The foremost of the pirate fleet attacked the enemy's great ship and grappled her, which the Spaniards discovered to be a fire-ship too late. They did all they could to put her off, but in vain; for the flames having seized her tackling and timber soon devoured all the stern, and the fore-part immediately sinking, she perished. The second ship perceiving their admiral to burn, not by accident, but by design of the enemy, elcaped towards the castle, where the Spaniards themselves sunk her, chusing rather to lose her than she should fall a prey to the pirates. There being no possibility for the third ship's elcaping, the pirates took her. Some Spaniards who swam from the first ship towards shore were offered quarter by the pirates which they refused, and chose rather to sink than take quarter from the pirates, who were highly pleased at the sig-



nal a victory, and so easily obtained, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy's forces over theirs. This success so elated them, that they immediately ran ashore with an intent to take the castle, which to their no small disappointment, they found to be well provided with ammunition, cannon, and men. They had no other arms than muskets, and hand granadoes. Their artillery they judged incapable of making any breach in the wall on account of its smallness.

They employed the remainder of the day in firing at the garrison with their muskets till evening; then in order to throw in their fire-balls, they endeavoured to advance nearer the walls. The Spaniards on their side being determined to sell their lives dear, fired furiously on them, that the pirates deterred by the obstinate bravery of the enemy, and having lost thirty of their men killed, and having as many more wounded, retired to their ships with precipitation, and soon after returned with all their fleet to Maracaibo; where Moragan resisted the great ship he had taken, and chose for himself, giving his own bottom to one of his captains. The remaining difficulty was now to get out of the lake, and escape the fire of the castle. The following stratagem was agreed on as the best expedient to get off.

The day preceding the night intended for their escape, they embarked many of their men in canoes, and rowed towards the shore, as if they designed to land them. There they hid themselves a while under the branches of the trees that hung over the coast, and laid themselves down in the boats. Then the canoes returned to the ships with only the appearance of two or three men rowing them, the rest lying unseen at the bottom of the canoes. Nothing more could be perceived by those in the castle: and this seeming landing of men was repeated several times that day. These movements made the Spaniards imagine that the pirates intended

to scale and force the castle that night. Which apprehension influenced them to place most of their great guns on the land side, with their main force. They left the side towards the sea almost destitute of defence.

With'd for night being come, the pirates weighed anchor by the light of the moon; and without letting sail, fell with the ebbing tide, which gently brought them down the river, till they were near the castle; and when almost over against it, they spread their sails with all expedition; which, as soon as the Spaniards perceived, they removed their guns to the sea side with all possible dispatch, and began to fire very furiously on the escaping pirates.

But the wind proving very favourable to them, they were almost out of danger before the guns of the castle could hurt them; so that they did not suffer much in men or rigging. Just as he had passed by, captain Morgan ordered seven great guns, charged with bullets, to be fired against the castle, by way of taking his leave of them; but they had not the manners to answer him even with a musket shot. Enriched by those various pillagings, he arrived safely at Jamaica, where he soon found many of his officers and sailors reduced to their former indigency, by their vices and debaucheries; whence they persecuted him for new exploits, to furnish new supplies for their extravagancies in strumpets and wine.

Morgan, willing to follow the banners of fortune, whose adopted favourite he seemed to be; stopped the clamours of many of the inhabitants of Jamaica, creditors to his men for large sums, with the prospect of greater achievements (from a new projected expedition by him) than had ever been thought of before; which was no sooner rumoured than men flocked to him, on account of his great name, from every part.

He proposed to equip a new fleet, and assigned for their place of rendezvous the south side of Tortuga.

whither they all repaired the 24th of October, 1679. It was resolved to send four ships and one boat, with 400 men, to the continent, in order to plunder some villages and towns for corn and maize.

These four ships sailed from Hispaniola to the river de la Hacha, where they were suddenly becalmed, which reduced them to a state of inaction for some days. The Spaniards who lived along the coast, discovering them to be enemies, had time sufficient to prepare for their defence or safety, and to hide their most valuable effects. A ship from Cartagena being then in the river, and laden with maize fell into the hands of the pirates, and was a very welcome booty, being a good part of what they came for.

About the dawn of day next morning, the pirates landed, whom the Spaniards vigorously resisted from a battery they had purposely raised to oppose their landing; but being overpowered, were forced to retire to a village. The Spaniards rallying here, fell upon them with great fury, and maintained a strong combat which lasted till night, then they retired to secret places in the woods; the loss of men having been mutual on both sides, and not inconsiderable.

During the fifteen days the pirates remained there, they made many prisoners, seized on a great deal of plate and moveables: with these spoils they resolved to return to Hispaniola, for which place they set out, having got four hundred fanegs, or bushels of maize as a ransom for not burning the town. They had been absent five weeks on his commission: which very long delay made captain Morgan almost despair of ever seeing them. At one time, fearing they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; apprehending at another time that having been very successful in the voyage, they had escaped therewith to some other part of the world.

The greater his anxiety was during their absence, the greater also was his satisfaction in seeing them re-

10. *Idem* augmented in number, and laden with the articles  
 he wanted. Captain Morgan divided the main, as well  
 as the fish which the hunters had brought, among his  
 ships proportionably to their respective crews, and re-  
 solved to depart, having previously examined the con-  
 dition each ship was in, and observed their being clean  
 and well equipped, which done, he sailed and bore a-  
 way for cape Tiburon, where on his arrival, he met  
 some other ships newly come from Jamaica, to join  
 him: by which increate, his fleet swelled to the num-  
 ber of thirty-seven ships; which, besides mariners and  
 boys, and two thousand fighting men on board. The  
 admiral mounted twenty-two great guns, and six small  
 ones of brass; the others mounted, some twenty, some  
 eighteen, some sixteen, and the smallest, at least, four;  
 they had besides great quantities of ammunition, fire-  
 balls, &c.

The admiral of the fleet, Morgan, seeing himself at  
 the head of so many ships, divided them into two squa-  
 drons, constituting a vice-admiral, and other officers  
 of the second squadron, distinct from the former. To  
 these he gave letters-patent, or commissions, to act all  
 manner of hostilities against the Spanish nation, where-  
 ever they should meet them. Then some articles of  
 agreement between the officers and the admiral, con-  
 cerning the respective shares of all prizes which should  
 be taken were assigned.

Affairs being thus settled, Morgan ordered his fleet  
 to weigh anchor from the cape Tiburon, December  
 16, 1670. They came four days after within sight  
 of St. Catherine's in the possession of the Spaniards,  
 to which place they banished all their malefactors in  
 the West Indies. As soon as the fleet was near the  
 island, Morgan dispatched one of his best sailing ships  
 to view the entry of the river, and see if any ships  
 were there that might oppose his landing, or prevent  
 his design by giving intelligence of his arrival to the



inhabitants. Before sun-rise next day, all the fleet anchored near the island, in a bay called Aguade grande.

The Spaniards had raised a battery on this fort mounted with four pieces of cannon. Morgan landed a thousand men in different parties, and marched them through the woods, though he had no other guide than a few of his own men, who had been there but once before, Mansvelt the governor, &c. had retired to the lesser island, which was so well fortified with batteries and forts round it, as to make it seem impregnable. It was joined by a bridge to the greater island.

As soon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates approach, they fired on them so furiously as to hinder them from making any advances that day, who found themselves under a necessity of retreating, and resting in the open fields: to the latter inconvenience they had been pretty well inured; hunger afflicted them most inasmuch as during that day they had not ate any thing.

To add to their calamitous situation, it rained hard about midnight, that it required great resolution to hold out against it; the greatest part of them having no other cloathing than a pair of seamen's trowsers, and were bare legged. They pulled down a few thatched houses, to make fires in the pinching extremity. They were in so dispirited a condition, that an hundred men indifferently armed might have totally defeated them that night.

The rain ceased about break of day, next morning. Having dried their arms, they began to march: but soon after it rained a new, and heavier than before, which debarred their advancing towards the forts from which they were continually fired upon by the Spaniards. Morgan perceiving his people inclined to despond, thought it highly necessary to have recourse to some expedient; for which purpose he commanded a canoe to be rigged immediately, and colours of truce to be hanged out. He sent the canoe to the Spaniards

governor with this message. *That if he would not deliver himself and his men into his hands within a few hours, that he, Morgan, and all those in his company, swore to him by the messengers, that he, the governor, and all the Spaniards, should suffer military execution.*

The canoe returned with this answer in the afternoon, to wit, *That the governor desired two hours to deliberate with the officers, and that he would send a positive answer at the expiration of that time.*

—Accordingly the governor sent two canoes, with white colours, and two agents, to enter into a treaty with the admiral of the pirates, from whom they demanded two persons as hostages before they landed, which was readily granted: and, as pledges for the security required, Morgan sent two of his captains.

The Spanish governor's shameful proposal was, to yield up the place; but, that to save his reputation, a sham fight should be carried with incessant firing from the artillery on both sides, but without bullets, &c. Morgan readily assented to the scandalous proposals, which was to give him possession of an island on such easy terms. The number of prisoners amounted to 59 men, women, and children, among whom were 90 soldiers.

The pirates disarmed all the Spaniards, and sent them out immediately to the plantations, to seek for provisions, leaving the women in the churches to practice their devout exercises. They soon after made a general review of the island, and all the fortresses thereof, which they found to be nine in all. Above 50,000 pounds of powder, with all other ammunition, were found in the store-houses, and carried on board by the pirates. They stopped up and nailed all the guns, and demolished the fortresses. That of St. Jeom's was the only one they left stand, in order to keep a guard there.

The admiral ordered a diligent enquiry to be made for any banditti from Panama or Puerto Bello, three

were found, and brought into his presence; they pretended to be perfectly well acquainted with all the avenues in those parts. He then proposed to them to undertake being his guides, and shew him the safest way to Panama; which, if they would faithfully perform, he promised them equal shares in the plunder of that expedition, and liberty on their arrival at Jamaica.

Morgan issued his orders for the equipping of four ships and one boat, and the furnishing them with necessaries, in order to go and attack the castle of Chagré situate on the river of the same name. He did not chuse to sail thither with his whole fleet, lest the Spaniards might be alarmed in regard to Panama. To execute his orders against the castle, he embarked 400 men in those vessels: he remained in the mean time at St. Catharine's, with the rest of the fleet to hear how his scheme against the castle should succeed.

One captain Brodley was chosen by Morgan for vice admiral of the little fleet against Chagré. He was a man of eminence, and had distinguished himself in the piratical profession. From the time of his departure Brodley arrived in three days in sight of the castle of Chagré, called St. Lawrence by the Spaniards; it was well fortified by art and nature. As soon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates, they fired incessantly on them with great guns, who, notwithstanding came to anchor in a small port, not above a league from the castle.

The pirates went ashore early next morning, and marched through the woods to attack the castle. The march lasted till two in the afternoon, by reason of the difficulties of the way through mire and dirt. Though their guides acquitted themselves very faithfully, yet where they pierced from the wood was so nigh the castle at first, that it being an open place without cover, the pirates lost many of their men by the shot from the castle. This threw them into a great perplex

as they were uncertain which course to take; for they were under a necessity of making an assault on that side; but being uncovered from head to foot, every step they advanced they were the more exposed to danger. The situation and strength of the castle increased their doubts of succeeding.

Their desperate situation urged them on to a desperate attempt, as their last resource, they boldly marched to the castle, their swords in one hand, and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards made a vigorous defence, firing incessantly on them, and loudly exclaiming. *Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our sovereign; let your companions, whom you have left behind come on too; ye shall not reach Panama this bout.*

The pirates were repulsed in their attempt to scale the walls, and rested themselves till night, which being come, they returned to the assault, and endeavoured to burn the pales before the wall with their fire-balls, which they effected, and set fire also to the palisadoes: which means several breaches were made by the fire along the pales, great heaps of earth falling into the ditch; by which the pirates were encouraged to climb in order to get into the castle. Such of the Spaniards as were not occupied about extinguishing the fire, which had reached several houses, threw down many burning pots of combustible matter and odious smells, which many of the English were destroyed. All the efforts of the Spaniards could not prevent the palisades from being burnt down before midnight.

The pirates still prosecuted their scheme of taking the castle; and notwithstanding the violence of the fire, could creep on the ground as near as they could, and stand amidst the flames against the Spaniards on the other side. When day-light returned, they observed all the movable earth that had been betwixt the pales to be cast into the ditch; so that in their turn, those without the castle lay equally exposed to them without;



whereupon the pirates renewed their fire with more vigour than hitherto, and killed many Spaniards; for their governor had charged them to make good the posts answering to the heaps of earth fallen into the ditch, and ordered the artillery to be transported to the breaches. The fire from within the castle still continuing, the besieging pirates did all they could to hinder its progress, by shooting incessantly against it. One party of them was employed for this purpose, while another watched every motion of the besieged.

The English gained a breach about noon, which the governor in person, at the head of twenty-five soldiers had defended. The Spaniards made a valiant opposition, with muskets, stones, pikes, and swords, but the pirates fought their way till they gained the castle.

The few remaining Spaniards threw themselves down from the castle into the sea, chusing rather to perish than to ask quarter for their lives. The governor retreated to the *corps de garde*, before which two pieces of cannon were placed; there he still resolutely defended himself, nobly disdaining to ask for quarter; and his valiant life was cut short by a musket ball.

After the death of the brave governor, the *corps de garde* surrendered. The pirates found but thirty men alive, and but ten not wounded; who informed the pirates, that eight or nine of their soldiers, who had deserted were gone to Panama, to give intelligence of their arrival and invasion. These thirty men were all that remained of the 314 who had garrisoned the castle; among them was not one officer surviving. They were all made prisoners. The taking of this castle cost the pirates excessively dear, both in labour and loss of men; they had above 100 killed, and 70 wounded.

After advice received of the taking of the castle of Chagre, admiral Morgan remained not long behind St. Catharine's, but sailed for Chagre, where he arrived in eight days. The joy of his fleet was so excessive

their first espying English colours on the castle, that they minded not their way into the river; by which remissness four ships were lost at its entrance, of which was Morgan's; all the men and goods were saved from the wrecks.

Admiral Morgan was ushered to the castle amidst general acclamations of all the pirates. Having heard the manner and circumstances of the conquest, he expressed the highest satisfaction; then gave orders to all the prisoners to work and repair what was necessary; especially to erect new palisadoes round the forts of the castle. There was yet in the river the Spanish vessels called Chatten, which served to carry merchandize up and down, and go to Nicaragua and Puerto Bello. They commonly mount two great iron guns, and four small ones of brass. The pirates made a seizure of them, as well as of four little ships, and all the canoes they found there.

A garrison of 500 men was left in the castle, and no more in the ships on the river. Then Morgan went out from the castle of Chagre towards Panama, on the 18th of August 1670. He had with him 1200 men, five boats loaden with artillery, and 32 canoes. About evening the next day they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego. At this place the river being very dry for want of rain, and obstructed by many trees having fallen into it, they were under a necessity of leaving their boats and canoes. They were informed by the guides, that the country about 10 leagues farther up would prove very favourable to continue the journey by land; they left behind them 100 men to defend their boats from all attacks; which they intended should serve them as a refuge in case their scheme should be defeated.

In the morning of the third, their march proved so difficult that they were forced to have recourse to their canoes, though the assistance they could give them was but very small. By their means, however, they

tugged a little farther up the river to a place called Cedro Bueno. The pirates were desirous of meeting some Spaniards or Indians, in hopes to allvage the excessive hunger they had endured, with their provisions.

The greatest part of the pirates, led by one of the guides, marched by land the fourth day: the rest conducted by another guide, went farther up the river. This guide went always before them and scoured the river on both sides, in order to discover the ambuscades the pirates had been apprised were laid for them; but those in the ambuscades had countryspies very alert in giving notice of all accidents, of the approach of the pirates, and that commonly two hours before they arrived. About noon the pirates called Torna Cavallos; the guide of the canoes gave notice of an ambuscade.

It was a welcome notice to the pirates, who hoped to find some provisions there; but when come to the place they did not find any body there; for the Spaniards had fled on the news of the pirates approach and left but a few empty leathern bags behind. A few crumbs of bread scattered on the ground where they had eaten, exasperated the pirates hunger, which was so gnawing and outrageous that they ate the leathern bags, and there was as much fighting about them as there could be for better food. After this coarse repast they marched on, and about night reached another post called Torna Munni, the place of another ambuscade, but that they found it was deserted and barren as the former. They searched the neighboring woods in quest of something to eat; but the Spaniards had taken care not to leave the least article that could serve for sustenance.

In this intolerable distress happy was the man who had preserved since noon any bit of leather to make his supper of, drinking a large draught of water, which was then a kind of envied luxury. The pirates march-

of cooking leather is not unworthy of notice: they cut it in slices, then beat them between two stones, and rubbed them well, often dipping it into water to render them supple and tender. Finally, thus scraped off the hair and broiled them. Being thus dressed, they cut them into small morsels, chewed them, which frequent gulps of water helped to go down.

They came to a place called Barbacoa the fifth day about noon, where they discovered the traces of another ambuscade, and as destitute of all provisions as the preceding ones: but after having searched a long time in its neighbourhood, they descried a grot, and it found two sacks filled with meal, wheat, and other provisions, with two large jars full of wine, and certain fruits called Platanos.

Admiral Morgan ordered what was found to be first distributed among those who were in the greatest necessity, and then among those who were less so. As soon as they had refreshed themselves with those Quails, they renewed their march with alacrity. Those who appeared very weak were put into the canoes, and those who had been in them before were commanded to land.

They continued their journey in this manner till late in the night. They then came to a plantation where they went to rest, but supperless, for the Spaniards had carried away all manner of provision from this place.

They prosecuted their journey the sixth day, partly by water, partly by land: which they were obliged to interrupt frequently on account of the ruggedness of the road, and their excessive weakness, which they struggled to relieve by eating grass, green herbs, leaves of trees. About noon they came to a plantation where they found a barn full of maize. They instantly broke open the doors, and greedily devoured much as they could of it dry. But a dry distribution being soon made, every man got a good allowance.



Thus recruited, they journeyed forward for above an hour, and came up with another ambuscade; the sight of which they imprudently threw away their maiz, imagining they should find every thing there in abundance. But they were soon convinced of their error, meeting neither Indians, victuals, nor any thing else. They saw, indeed, 100 Indians on the other side of the river, who fled from the approach of the pirates: some of them leapt into the river in order to pursue and take some of the Indians, but they being nimbler than the pirates, not only baffled but killed two or three with their arrows, and scoffed at them crying, *Ha! Perros, a la Savana, a la Savana*, which imports in English, Go to the plain, go to the plain, ye dogs. They could advance no farther that day, being under a necessity of passing the river, and continue their journey on the other side of it. They rested there that night, during which great murmurings were heard against the admiral and his conduct; some declared for returning home, others swore they would perish in the greatest difficulties rather than retreat a step from their undertaking; the intemperate ones turned all their sufferings into merriments; but they were all animated by the declaration of their guide, who asserted that they should soon meet with something to their advantage.

In the morning of the seventh day, each man cleared his arms, and discharged his pistol, or musket without ball, in order to try their firelocks; which done, they crossed the river, and quitted the place where they had rested, called Santa Cruz. They reached a village called Crue at noon.

They were as yet at some distance from the place, but they perceived with pleasure the smoke ascending from different parts; which gave great joy, as it promised them a certainty of finding people there, and plenty of good cheer. Feasting in imagination, they hastened their steps, and thus encouraged each other

*under is smook, my lads, which comes out of every  
nose. Little do they know the unexpected guests, who  
are to eat what they are now roasting and boiling.*

The pirates arrived there all covered with sweat,  
and out of breath, but to their inexpressible astonish-  
ment, found no person in the town, nor any thing  
able to refresh themselves. There was fire enough  
if they had any thing to dress, for the Spaniards, be-  
fore their departure from thence, set fire to all their  
houses. The king's store-houses and stables only were  
not committed to the flames; not a beast alive or dead  
was left behind them: which from their late glim-  
mering of hope, plunged them into a greater anxiety  
than ever. They found a few cats and dogs which  
they immediately killed and lived upon.

In the king's stables they were so lucky at last as to  
find fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a lea-  
thern sack full of bread. As soon as they had drunk  
this wine, they sickened almost to a man. A suspi-  
cion of the wine's being poisoned spread consternation  
and despair throughout the camp. But the sickness  
arose from their long want of sustenance, and the dis-  
sipated trash they had eaten. They were not able to  
continue their journey till the afternoon of the fol-  
lowing day.

The admiral was forced to leave his canoes at the  
place, and to land all his men, however weak; but  
he could not spare men for the defence of the ca-  
noes, and lest they should be surpris'd, except one,  
which he had to serve for carrying intelligence, he  
sent them back to where the boats were. The Spa-  
niards and Indians who had fled from this place were  
only retired to the neighbouring plantations; where-  
fore the admiral ordered that none should go out of  
the village, except in companies of two together, be-  
ing apprehensive of attacks from the enemy.

One party notwithstanding, tempted with the de-  
sire of victuals, went out in contradiction to his cor-

## H The HISTORY of the

mand; but they soon returned to the town with precipitation, having been assaulted very furiously by some Indians and Spaniards, who carried one of them away.

The admiral detached 200 men before the body of his army in the morning of the eighth day, that they might reconnoitre the road to Panama, and discover what ambuscades might be prepared: for the way leading to it was so narrow, that only ten or twelve persons, and sometimes not so many, could march abreast. They came to a place called Quebrada de la Cruz, after ten hours march; where all on a sudden they were saluted with a volley of 3 or 4000 arrows and arrows, but they could neither perceive from whence they came, nor who shot at them. This numerous flight of arrows greatly alarmed the pirates, who, as there was no retreating, marched a little farther, and entered a wood, where they perceived some Indians flying as fast as their heels could carry them, to take the advantage of another post, and observe the pirates march.

About the break of the 9th day of this tedious journey, admiral Morgan marched, and continued so to do while the fresh air of the morning lasted, for the clouds suspended over their heads were more favourable to them than the sun's scorching rays, the ways becoming now more difficult. At the end of two hours march they discovered between twenty and thirty Spaniards who observed their motions. As soon as they had ascended to the summit of a high mountain, they discovered the South-sea. This pleasing sight appearing like the end of their labour, diffused a general joy among them. They also descried one ship and six boats sailing from Panama to the islands of Lovaga and Togaville.

They then descended into a vale, where they found cattle in plenty, many of which they killed. While some were slaughtered, and feed the cows, horses, bullocks and chiefly asses, of which there was the greatest abundance, others kindled fires, and got wood to roast them a little.

Too impatient and hungry to wait for any regular dressing they cut the meat into convenient pieces or shobots, which they threw into the fire, and devoured them half roasted with incredible gluttony, the blood streaming down from the beards to the waists of many of them; they were more like Canibals than Europeans.

Having finished their beastly repast, the admiral ordered them to continue their march, having detached 50 men before the main body, in order to scour the country. About evening 200 Spaniards were discovered, who holloed to the pirates, but they understood them not. Soon after, the pirates came in sight of the highest steeple of Panama, at which they were so transported, that they cast up their hats in the air, leaping and shouting as if they had already conquered, and were in possession of the city. All the trumpets were sounded, and their drums beat, to accompany this alacrity of their minds. They pitched their camp, and waited with impatience the return of light.

Early in the morning of the tenth day, the admiral put his men in order, the drums beating, and trumpets sounding, and marched directly towards the city of Panama. One of the guides cautioned him against following the common highway, lest any ambuscades should be prepared there. He took the guide's advice, and chose another way through the woods, although very difficult.

The Spaniards perceiving that the pirates had taken another way, were compelled to leave their ships and batteries, and march forth to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in the best order he could: they consisted of two squadrons of horse, and four regiments of foot, and a prodigious number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, negroes and others.

The pirates had by this time marched to the top of a little hill, from which they had a large view of the



country, and champaign fields underneath; where they discovered the forces of Panama drawn up in battle array to be so numerous, that they began to be less confident of their carrying the day. Their commander divided them in three battalions, having detached before 200 of the most dexterous at their guns. They then descended the hill, and marched directly towards the Spaniards, who waited their coming in a spacious field.

When the Spaniards observed them to advance, they began to shout and cry aloud. *Viva le Roy*, God save the king. Their horse immediately marched against the pirates; but they could not wheel about as readily as was desired, on account of the field's being full of quags, and soft under foot. Each of the 200 Bucaniers (who had been detached before) putting one knee to the ground, they began the battle briskly with a full volley of shot: the Spaniards fought with great bravery, doing all they could to throw the pirates into confusion: their foot endeavouring to second their horse, was forced by the pirates to abandon them, notwithstanding which repulse, their next attempt was to drive the wild bulls against them behind, to put them into disorder; but the wild cattle ran away, scared at the din and thunder of the battle. A few of them indeed broke through the English companies, and all the damage they did was to tear the colours in pieces, but they were soon shot dead by the buccaniers.

The greatest part of the Spanish horse were disabled, nay almost destroyed in this battle, which lasted two hours. The few surviving and unhurt ran away; which the foot observing, and judging it out of their power to conquer the enemy, discharged the round of shot they had in their muskets, then threw them down, and fled different ways. The pirates, so much harassed and wearied with their long journey, could not follow them. Many of the Spaniards, not being able to fly to the places they intended, hid

themselves for the present among the shrubs of the sea side, which was a very unhappy choice, for most of them being found there by the pirates, were unmercifully slaughtered. Some religious men were brought prisoners before the admiral, who, deaf to all their cries, commanded them to be shot immediately, which sentence was carried into instant execution.

A captain was brought before him soon after, whom he very strictly examined. He asked him particularly in what consisted the forces of Panama. The captain replied, that their whole strength consisted in 400 horse, 24 companies of foot, each composed of 100 men complete, 60 Indians, and some negroes, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls upon the English, in order to break their files, and put them into disorder. He added, that in the city they had made trenches, and raised batteries in several places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the high way leading to the city they had built a fort mounted with eight brass guns, and defended by 50 men. In consequence of this information, admiral Morgan, gave immediate orders to march another way. Having reviewed his men, he found a greater number of them to be killed and wounded than had been at first imagined. Six hundred Spaniards were found dead, besides their wounded and prisoners.

Notwithstanding their loss, the pirates prepared to march courageously towards the city; in approaching which they found much difficulty; for the Spaniards had placed many great guns at several quarters, within the town; some of which were charged with small pieces of iron, and others with musket balls. They were constantly fired at the pirates, who consequently lost numbers at every advance they made; but not less dismayed or stopt their progress: for though the Spaniards never ceased firing, and made the most vigorous defence they could, yet after three hours combat they were forced to yield.

The pirates having destroyed those who attempted in the least to oppose them, possessed themselves of the city, from which the inhabitants, long before the battle, had transported their most valuable effects to remote places of safety. The pirates, however, found in the city several ware-houses well stocked with merchandise, to wit, silks, clothes, linen, &c. and other rich articles.

Admiral Morgan assembled his men, as soon as their first fury after entering into the town was over, and commanded them not to drink or taste any wine, under severe penalties; and the reason he gave for such a command was, his having received advice of its being poisoned; his real motive was a truly political one, lest any excess, after their late abstinence, might make them sick, and consequently become an easy prey to their enemies.

As soon as he had placed necessary guards at several quarters within and without the city, he commanded twenty-five men to seize on a great boat which had stuck in the mud of the port for want of water at low tide. About noon of the same day he ordered fire to be set to several great edifices of the city that no body might know the authors of it; and Morgan's motives for so doing are to this day unknown. The fire increased so rapidly, that before night the greatest part of the city was in a flame. Morgan finding this proceeding blamed by his own people, laid it on the Spaniards.

Many Spaniards, and several of the pirates did all they could, employing every method to extinguish the fire, but in vain. The houses of Panama were all built with cedar, very curiously and richly adorned, especially with hangings and paintings, great part of which had been removed before this wanton conflagration. In this city, the See of a Bishop were eight monasteries, seven for men, and one for women, two stately churches and one hospital. The churches

nd monasteries magnificently adorned, with altar  
pieces, and other fine pieces of painting, with a quan-  
ty of gold, silver, and other precious things; all  
which the ecclesiastics had concealed, on seeing the  
storm approach.

There were, moreover, two thousand superb build-  
ings, inhabited for the most part by very rich mer-  
chants; there were five thousand of humbler struc-  
ture, for the middling sort and tradesmen. There  
were also many stables for the mules and horses that  
carry the king of Spain's plate, as well as that of some  
particulars towards the north sea. The neighbouring  
fields abound with pleasant gardens, and fertile plan-  
tations, affording all the year round delicious prospects  
to the inhabitants. The Genoese had a stately house  
in this city for their negro trade, which by Morgan's  
orders was burnt to the ground. There were besides,  
two hundred warehouses, and many slaves who had  
hid themselves therein, with innumerable sacks of  
meal consumed by the fire, from which its commence-  
ment continued burning four weeks without inter-  
mission.

The greatest part of the pirates still encamped with-  
out the city, fearing least the Spaniards might come  
and fight them anew, it being notorious that they  
were superior in number. They had put their wound-  
ed, who were numerous, in the only remaining church,  
the others having been all consumed by the flames,  
besides the other diminutions of his corps, the ad-  
miral dispatched 150 men to the castle of Chagre, to  
carry thither the news of the victory.

He ordered his people to search carefully among  
the ruins and ashes for utensils of plate or gold that  
might have escaped the force of the flames; of which  
they found great quantities, especially in Wells, where  
they had been hid by the Spaniards. He detached  
next day, two troops of 150 stout and well armed men  
each, to go in quest of the escaped inhabitants. As-



ter two days excursions all around, they returned with above 200 prisoners, men, women, and slaves. The boat he had sent to the South Sea returned the same day, and brought three other boats she had taken with her.

Much about the same time the convoy which Morgan had sent to the castle of Chagre returned, and brought very agreeable news, to wit, that while he was on his journey to Panama, those he had left in the castle of Chagre had sent two boats a cruising. They met a Spanish ship, and chased her within sight of the castle; which being observed by the pirates in the castle, they hung out Spanish colours to lure the ship that fled before the boats; by which artifice she ran into the snare, and was taken. The freight of her consisting chiefly in victuals and provisions, that which nothing could be more welcome to the castle where they began already to want such articles. The success of those at Chagre caused Captain Morgan to stay longer at Panama, ordering daily new excursions into the neighbouring parts. While the pirates at Panama were thus employed, those at Chagre were on the look out for prizes on the North Sea. The unhappy wretches brought before Morgan were put to the most exquisite tortures, to make them confess their own and other peoples goods.

Their wanton cruelty spared neither sex nor condition: religious persons and priests met with less mercy than others, unless they could produce a sufficient ransom. Women were no better used, except when they submitted to the filthy lust of the pirates; for such as would not consent were treated with all the rigorous imaginable. In this particular Morgan was no better than any of his detestable desperadoes.

Admiral Morgan having sojourned at Panama full three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure, and ordered each company of his men to take as many beasts of carriage as might con-

by the whale spoil to the river where his canoes lay. A rumour prevailed about this time, that a great number of the people intended to leave him, and seize a ship then in the port: and that their determination was to go and rob on the South Sea, till they should have got a sufficiency to live comfortably at home the rest of their lives. For this purpose they had collected provisions that were then hid in private places, with bullets, powder, and all other ammunition.

Had not admiral Morgan received timely advice of this conspiracy from one of the associates, it would certainly have taken effect; whereupon he gave immediate orders for the cutting down of the masts of the said ship, and its being burnt with those of the other boats in the port, which frustrated the scheme against him.

He then sent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to seek for money, to ransom not only themselves, but the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiastics. He moreover commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and stopp'd up. He detached at the same time a strong company of men in quest of the governor of Panama, on having received intelligence that the said governor had prepared many ambuscades in the way, by which Morgan, was to return.

Admiral Morgan departed from the place where Panama stood, February 24, 1671. He carried off with him, 75 beasts of burden laden with spoils, consisting of silver, gold, and other precious things, and about 600 prisoners, men, women, children, and slaves. They came to a river that day, which flows through a delicious plain, within a league of Panama. Here Morgan drew up his forces in good order, and having placed the prisoners in the middle, they were surrounded on all sides by the pirates, some of whom could not help being affected by the deep-fetched

sighs, shrieks, cries, and lamentations of so many women and children, who were under dreadful apprehensions lest Morgan should transport them into his own country for slaves. Moreover, these wretches endured excessive hunger and thirst; which extreme sufferings Morgan had designedly contrived, in order to excite them to seek for money to pay the stipulated ransom.

Many of the women on their knees, with sighs and tears, entreated captain Morgan to let them return to Panama to their families, however wretched the situation they had been reduced to. But this tyger hearted monster was deaf to all their cries. The pirates in the rear used to thrust into their backs and sides the blunt ends of their arms, to hasten them forward.

As soon as admiral Morgan arrived at the the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he published an order among the prisoners, that whoever could not bring their ransom in three days should be transported to Jamaica. Orders were given at the same time to get all necessary provisions for his fleet. On the 9th of March he arrived at the castle of Chagre, where he found all things in good order; but most of the wounded men he had left there had died for want of proper care.

Immediately after his arrival, he sent a large boat to Puerto Bello, with all the captives he had made at the island of St. Catharine's demanding a considerable ransom for the castle of Chagre, where he then was, menacing its total destruction in case of a refusal. The inhabitants of Puerto Bello sent him for answer, that they would not give him a farthing for the ransom of the said castle, and that he might do with it whatever he pleased.

The dividend of all the spoil taken in that voyage was made, every company and each particular person receiving their share thereof; or, more properly speaking, whatever proportion their master Morgan was

pleased to assign. Most of his piratical comrades, even those of his own country, complained of unfair proceedings, and reproached him to his face for having monopolized the jewels, it being impossible that no greater share could come to each man than 200 pieces of eight, out of so many rich plunders, and which small sum was far from being an equivalent to the difficulties and dangers they had run through. But Morgan, determined to cheat them of all he could, was deaf to all their remonstrances.

On finding himself grown obnoxious, and having lost all popularity amongst his followers, he began to fear the consequence if not timely prevented; wherefore he judged it dangerous to delay any longer at Chagre, and ordered the ordnance of the castle to be carried on board his ship. He then gave directions to demolish most of the walls, to set fire to the edifices, and make as general a destruction as could be done in a short time. After which havock he stole secretly aboard of his own ship, without giving the least intimation thereof to his comrades of iniquity, and put to sea, attended but by three or four vessels of the fleet, and manned by those whom he could have the strongest reliance on, and to whom, for that purpose he had given larger shares of the spoils than to the rest. Whom he took care to leave totally unprovided of all necessaries for a pursuit, in case they should think of following and bring revenged on him for his injustice. Those he left behind him were in so reduced a state, that every company, whether English or French, being compelled to shift for themselves, they mostly separated from each other, and having returned homeward took up another course of life, always haunted with the remorie of having been such monsters to so little profit to themselves; one merciless villain having run away with the whole.

The party of Morgan's followers to which Esquemeling belonged, steered along the shore of Costa Ric-



ca, in order to get provisions, and careen their ship in some secure place, the boat they were in, being then extremely foul and quite unfit for the sea. They arrived in a few days in a spacious port called Beadell Torol where good Tortoises are in great plenty. It is about ten leagues in compass, and sheltered by a number of little islands, under whose cover vessels ride secure in the most violent storms.

Having refreshed and provided themselves with what this island could afford, they sailed towards the island De los Pinos. They arrived there in fifteen days, and were obliged to rest and careen. While one part attended in the careening business, the other went fishing, and in six or seven hours caught fish sufficient for a thousand persons. The pirates had some Indians with them from the cape of Gracias a Dios, very dextrous in fishing and hunting. With their assistance they killed in a short time a prodigious number of wild cows. The Spaniards had formerly brought the cows into this island that they might stock and multiply there: they also salted a vast number of tortoises. Thus abounding in provisions, they dismissed their late cares, and gave a loose to joy and feasting; the Spaniards of that island being in friendship with the pirates, there was no necessity for any guard being kept by night, except against the crocodiles, with which it swarms; they will assault a man and devour him.

After these pirates had remained there for some time; having sufficiently refreshed, and provided themselves with all necessaries, they sailed for Jamaica, where after a most prosperous voyage they arrived in a few days, and there found captain Morgan, the admiral, who had returned home before them. They were the first of his companions (whom he had left behind) that returned to Jamaica; where he was then busy in cajoling and levying people in order to transport them to the island of St. Catharine, which

was reported) he intended to fortify, and make an asylum for pirates in general, and for those of his own country in particular.

But this new project of his was soon defeated, by the arrival of a ship of war from England, bringing orders from his Britannic majesty, by which the then governor of Jamaica was called home, to account for his having favoured pirates in those parts, to the great detriment to the subjects of Spain. The said ship was brought over a new governor to succeed in the room of him recalled, who presently ordered to be notified through all the ports, that on account of the good understanding subsisting between their Spanish and Britannic majesties, it was the special command of the king his master, that no pirates should be allowed to sail from Jamaica, nor his majesty's subjects be tolerated in any shape to commit hostilities or depredations on the Spaniards, or any other people inhabiting the neighbouring islands.

The pirates, who were abroad, being thunderstruck at such an order, which put an end to their trade, dared not to think of returning to Jamaica; therefore resolved to keep the sea, and continue in their old way. They ransacked *la villa de les Cales*, in the isle of Cuba; where, notwithstanding the king of England's orders to the contrary, they were guilty of the most shocking cruelty. But the new governor behaved so inflexible to all their solicitations and offered presents, that, agreeable to his royal master's orders, he had several of the principal leaders taken, and executed in an exemplary manner. The remaining were so terrified by these acts of justice, that fearing least they should fall into his hands, they retired for safety to the island of Tortuga. They incorporated with the French pirates, inhabitants of that place.

There being a violent war with Europe between France and Holland, and the inhabitants of the French Islands in America, gathered a considerable

fleet in 1673, in order to make themselves masters of those islands in the West Indies then belonging to the Dutch. There was a general invitation to all pirates and volunteers. The governor of Tortuga gave orders for the building of a stout ship of war, to be called Ogeron. She was well provided with ammunition, &c. and manned with 500 Buccaneers, determined desperadoes. This ship the governor designed to command in person.

The taking the of isle of Curasao, belonging to the Dutch, being his first object, he sailed from Tortuga but was scarce got on the west side of St. John's Puerto Rico, when a storm, as sudden as violent, drove his vessel among the rocks, near the Guadalupe islands, where she was dashed to pieces. He and his crew escaped in the boats, the land of Puerto Rico being near them.

They were discovered on the shore next by the Spanish inhabitants of the island, (who taking them to be French pirates come with a design to invade them, as had been done heretofore) alarmed the country, and when a sufficient number were assembled, they marched against, in order to fight them. But the Spaniards having drawn nearer, they found the French unable to make any defence, being destitute of arms, and begging quarter: to which prayer the Spaniards were deaf, charged furiously and killed most of them; but moved at last by the non resistance of the French, they ceased massacring them, and made the few surviving prisoners; whom (suspecting still some wicked designs against the island) they bound two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the woods into the open fields. They then asked them what was become of their commander. Their constant answer was, that he perished in the shipwreck, though they knew to the contrary.

Ogeron, who was unknown to the Spaniards, behaved as a mere natural amongst them, and played

he fool so well in all his actions, that he was not tired like the rest of his companions, but left to run about as a subject for public amusement. The common soldiers, whom he used to make laugh, would give him now and then their scraps of bread, and other victuals, whereas the companions of his fortune were in a starved condition.

A surgeon belonging to the pirates having done some services to the Spaniards, they unbound, and let him go freely where he pleased. Ogeron communicated to this surgeon his design of escaping from the cruelty and hard usage of those enemies. Having agreed, they fled to the woods, in order to make up some sort of vehicle to transport them thence, and a hatchet was the only implement they had.

Having travelled all day long, they reached the seaside about evening, but had not any thing to eat, nor a safe place to rest their wearied limbs in. They at last descried near the shore abundance of Corladados, a fish so called by the Spaniards, which frequently run close in with the shore in pursuit of the small fish they prey upon. Ogeron and the surgeon took as many as they thought necessary, and by nimbly rubbing two sticks together, soon made a fire with which they roasted them.

They began to cut down and prepare timber next day, in order to make some sort of a skiff, in which they might ferry over to the island of Santa Cruz, belonging to the French. While they were hard at work, they descried at a great distance a canoe, and bearing directly towards the place they were in. This appearance alarmed them, lest they should be discovered and retaken by the Spaniards. They ran into the wood, there to fly secreted, till such time they should descry who those in the canoe were.

But finding at length that they were no more than two persons, who appeared to be fishermen, they resolved to assault and make themselves masters of



canoe, or perish in the attempt. They soon after observed one of the two (a mulatto) going with calabashes hanging at his back towards a spring in the neighbourhood, in order to fetch fresh water from thence. The other, a Spaniard, waited his return near the canoe.

Seeing them thus divided, Ogeron and the surgeon first assaulted the mulatto, and struck him dead with a blow of the hatchet. On hearing the noise, the Spaniard made towards the canoe, hoping to escape; but he was overtaken and murdered by the two Frenchmen; who having accomplished their design of getting the canoe, carried off the dead bodies and threw them into the sea, that no surmise might be formed about their unhappy end. They had the precaution to take in as much fresh water as the canoe could well carry, and sailed at a venture in hopes of lighting on some place of refuge. They steered along the coasts of Porto Rico that day, and got as far as Capatzen; from whence they traversed directly to Hispaniola, where they were sure to meet many of their acquaintance.

The currents both of wind and water proved favourable to their course, that they landed in a few days in a place called Samana in the said island, where a party of French was at that time. The surgeon had orders from Ogeron to levy all the men he could muster there, while he revisited his government, where in a few days he collected a good number of men and vessels well equipped, and heartily disposed to follow him in any enterprise.

As soon as Ogeron had embarked all his people including those the surgeon had brought to him from Samana, he harangued so much to the purpose, that they had a total reliance on his promises. He then sailed from Tortuga to the coasts of Puerto Rico. As soon as the fleet was come within sight of land, orders were given for using the lower sails only, that

The Spaniards might not be able to judge who they were before they should reach their intended place of landing. But notwithstanding this caution, the Spaniards having had intelligence of their coming, were prepared to give them a very warm reception; and, in order to attack them at their descent, they posted several troops of horse along the coast.

Ogeon having perceived their being on the watch, ordered his vessels to draw near the shore, and fire several great guns, which compelled the cavalry to retire from their posts into the woods, where many companies of infantry, prostrated on the ground, lay concealed. The pirates having made their descent without interruption, and at their leisure, they began to enter among the trees, not suspecting the least danger. The Spaniards instantly rose up, and rushed on them in so furious a manner, that a great part of them was soon destroyed, and the rest got back to their ships with the utmost difficulty. Though Ogeon escaped, he would rather have perished in the fight, than live to be exposed to the reproaches this unsuccessful expedition must ever render him liable to. They hastened back to Fortuga, covered with confusion, and stung at the disappointment. The Spaniards made bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy, for this signal victory.

They made the French prisoners (having destroyed all the wounded) undergo very great hardships; and afterwards, as several times, as ships arrived from New Spain, they transported them by degrees to Europe; they were landed at Cadiz. But notwithstanding this prudent measure of the Spaniards to disperse those pirates, most of them met in a short time after in France, and resolved to embrace the first opportunity of returning to Fortuga; and therefore according to their different conditions, affectionately assisted each other, with all necessaries, till they arrived at their favourite rendezvous, Fortuga.

D'Estrees sent monsieur de Lefi (who had been late governor of that island) to demand the surrendering of the castle to the obedience of the French king. No attention being paid to the summons, the French stormed the castle the next night and at ten different sides at the same time. After a brave opposition, the Dutch were forced to surrender, having thirty eight persons killed, and many wounded. The prisoners were all transported to Old France where they did not meet with the mildest treatment.

All things being settled at the Isle of Cayana, monsieur D'Estrees departed from thence for Martinique where he received information of Binkes' being at the island of Tobago, and his fleet at anchor in the bay. D'Estrees upon this advice, bore away for Tobago without loss of time. Binkes (as soon as D'Estrees was come near the island) sent his land forces, with a good number of mariners, on shore to defend the artillery. The captains Clavone, Van Dougen, and Varder Graaf, laboured very hard that night in raising batteries, and filling up the palisades of St. Jans, a fortress so called.

The French fleet anchored in the bay of Palm two days after, and soon landed all their men in eighteen boats. And as soon as Binkes perceived the French upon the hills, he gave orders to set fire to the houses in the neighbourhood of the castle, that no place of shelter might remain for the French. D'Estrees sent a drum to the Dutch on the 23d of Feb. to demand the surrender of the fort, which was peremptorily refused. Things continued thus till the 3d of March, on which day the French fleet came with full sail and engaged the Dutch fleet. In the mean time the land forces of the French, covered by the thickness of the woods, advanced towards the castle, and stormed it very briskly; which the Dutch answered with such resolution as to make them re-

after three attacks; 150 of their men being killed 200 wounded.

During this engagement by land, the two fleets fought most desperately, till on both sides some ships were sunk and burnt, in which number was that of D'Estrees, mounting twenty seven great guns, with several small ones. This battle lasted from the dawn of day till evening, at which time D'Estrees left the island in victory to the Dutch, who had dearly bought it, and with the loss of several ships.

D'Estrees, filled with confusion at this defeat, fled from Tobago the 18th of March, and arrived at Brest in Old France the 21st of June. Having given a faithful account to his royal master of all that had happened, that monarch commanded him to undertake another expedition against Tobago; for which he sent large ships of war, and eight small ones were ordered to be fitted out with all possible dispatch; with these D'Estrees sailed the 3d of October following from Brest, and arrived at Barbadoes the 1st of December.

He touched at Martinico to take in some recruits, and on the 7th of December arrived with all his fleet before Tobago. He immediately landed 500 men, under the command of monsieur de Blinac, governor of the French islands in America, when 1000 more soon followed. They approached within 600 paces of the post called le Fort, on the 9th of December, and there landed their artillery. D'Estrees went to view the castle in person on the 10th, and sent a messenger to Binkes demanding him to surrender the place, which he undauntedly refused.

The French advanced next day towards the castle, and the Dutch kept a continued firing at them on the 11th. The French began their attack by throwing cannonballs with great impetuosity into the castle, and the ball chancing to fall in the path way, (that led to the store-house where the ammunition and powder



were kept) in which a great deal of powder was scattered through the carelessness of those who served, and taking fire ran to the store-house, which was instantly blown up, with vice admiral Binkes and all his officers, save captain Van Dungen who alone escaped.

The French having perceived this disaster on the side of the Dutch, ran to take possession of the castle with 500 men. They found 300 men alive, whom they made prisoners, and sent to France. After this success D'Estrees ordered the castle to be demolished with all other posts that appeared capable to him of serving for any defence. All the houses in the island were razed by a like sentence. This scene of ruin completed, he sailed from Tobago on the 27th of December, and after a very favourable voyage, returned in safety to France, where he was most graciously received by his royal master.

Boca del Tora was the appointed rendezvous of a new piratical fleet, which had lately taken and sacked Puerto Bello for the second time. (Morgan had taken it before.) This fleet consisted of the following ships

	Tons	Guns	Men
Captain Coxon, in a ship of	80	18	97
Captain Harris, in another of	150	25	107
Captain Bournano, ———	90	6	86
Captain Sawkins, — — —	16	1	35
Captain Sharp, — — —	25	2	40
Captain Cook, — — —	35	0	43
Captain Alleston, — — —	18	0	24
Captain Row, — — —	20	0	25
Captain Macken, — — —	14	0	20

They set out the 23d of March, 1679, and touched at the islands called Zamblas: they reach eight leagues in length, and lie westward of the river Darien fourteen leagues. While they rode at anchor there the Indians of those parts who came to see them, having learned their design on Tocumora, expressed their

like of, and dissuaded them from it, laying before them the length and tediousness of the march, with many unforeseen difficulties which must intervene in regard to provisions, on account of the road's being uninhabited and mountainous; offering at the same time to guide them undesired within a few leagues of Panama, where they might be sure to make an advantageous voyage.

Those pirates, induced by the force of the Indian reasons, came to a resolution to desist from their intended journey to Tocamora, and to bear away for Panama. From these resolutions captain Bournama and captain Row dissented; consequently separated from the rest, who left them both at the Zimblas.

An Indian chieftain, called Andreas, conducted the pirates resolved for Panama to another island, called the Golden Island by the English: it lies somewhat to the west of the mouth of the great river of Darien.

On the 3d of April, 1680, seven sail met at this island, where the Indians informed them of a town called Santa Maria, built on the bank of a great river of the same name, which, through the gulph of San Miguel, runs into the South Sea. They told them also, that a garrison of 400 soldiers was kept in the town, and that great quantities of gold were carried to Panama from this place, gathered in its neighbouring mountains; that in case they should fail in finding a sufficient booty there, they could proceed from thence by sea to Panama, where they might be sure of success.

The pirates were so well satisfied with this advice from the Indians, that they landed 330 men on the 5th of April, 1680. They left the captains Allerton and Jackett, with a party of 100 men, to guard the ships in their absence. Three or four cakes of bread (called by the English, Dough Boys) were given to each of the men who had been landed for their provision of victuals; and they were to apply to the rivers.

As soon as they were landed on the coast of Darien they began their march towards Santa Maria, the Indians leaving them as guides in that strange country. They marched at first through a small skirt of a wood, then over a bay almost a league in length, and afterwards went two leagues straight along a woody valley, where they had a very good path to march in, and discovered here and there an old plantation.

In their march next day they ascended a very high mountain, and at its foot on the other side they hallooed on the bank of a river, which Andreas told them was the same which flows by Santa Maria, and runs into the South Sea. They, from thence prosecuted their journey till noon, and then mounted a loftier mountain than the former. Here their travelling was difficult, and they were exposed to the greatest danger, if attacked, for but one man at a time could advance, the path being so narrow, and the mountain so perpendicular. They arrived on the other side of the mountain in the evening, and reposed on the bank of the same river, having marched about eighteen miles that day, according to their reckoning. A great deal of rain fell upon them this and the preceding night.

They marched next morning, about the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, along the above-mentioned river, crossing it almost every half mile, sometimes up to the knees, and sometimes up to the middle in a rapid stream. They came to a place about noon where were several Indians houses very roomy and neat. Here they rested themselves for the space of one day, and chose Captain Sawkins to command their forlorn party; for which purpose they gave him the choice of four score men.

They continued their march along the banks of the same river the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, and as they went, met with and there a house, whose owners stood at the door to see the pirates pass by, and gave to each a ripe plantain or some cazave root. They arrived that night at

the great Indian houses. and there took up their  
 being the weather being very serene and clear.

The captains Sharp, Coxon, and Cook, embarked  
 with about three-score men in fourteen canoes upon the  
 river. The Indian captain, Andreas, made one of the  
 company; there were two Indians in each canoe, in  
 order to pilot them down the river; which proved  
 more disagreeable than travelling by land; they being  
 frequently obliged to quit their canoes, and haul them  
 over rocks or sands; sometimes over trees that lay a-  
 cross, which filled up the river, and impeded the navi-  
 gation; nay, sometimes over points of land. At night  
 they built huts, wherein they reposed till morning.

They continued their journey the 11th all day long,  
 with the same fatigue and vexation they had undergone  
 the preceding day. At night they were stared on by  
 the natives for some time, but were afraid to fire at him,  
 lest they should alarm the Spaniards, then not far from  
 them, as they had been informed. They continued  
 their journey the two following days in the best man-  
 ner they could, as well those on land, as those by water.  
 Having joined, they set out early in the morning of  
 their last day's march, in 68 canoes, wherein 327 En-  
 glish men, and 50 Indian guides were embarked. A-  
 bout midnight they arrived, and landed at the distance  
 of half a mile from the town of Santa Maria. The place  
 where they landed was very muddy, that they were  
 under the necessity of laying their paddles on it, and  
 to hold themselves by the boughs of the trees, in or-  
 der to prevent their bodies from sinking. They were  
 afterwards obliged to cut their way (for some space)  
 into the woods, where they halted that night, and in  
 the greatest silence, that the enemy, then in the neigh-  
 bourhood might not discover them.

April 15, at the dawn of the day, the pirates heard  
 the discharge of a sloop from the town, followed im-  
 mediately by the beat of a drum; whereupon they took



up their arms, and marched toward the town in order of battle. As soon as they had got out of the wood into an open ground, they were observed by the Spaniards, who having had previous information of their coming, dispatched all their valuable effects to Panama. The Spaniards retired to a large pallisadoe fort (where of each pale was twelve feet high) and fired very briskly on the pirates, whose van guard ran up to the place, tore away two or three of the pallisadoes, and made themselves masters of the fort immediately, their number not exceeding fifty, of whom but two were wounded, and only one killed, though there were 260 men within the place. Aweny six of the Spaniards were killed, and sixteen wounded; their governor, priest and all other principal men had escaped.

The pirates having taken the fort, expected to find a considerable town belonging to it, but saw only few houses made of cane; this place being a garrison designed to keep the Indians in subjection, who often rise up against the Spaniards, for whom they have most implacable hatred. As soon as the pirates had taken the place, the Indians who had served them as guides ventured to come up to them; for the noise the guns had thrown them into so great a consternation that having hid themselves in a hollow, the bullets flew over their heads during the fight. Here the pirates released the eldest daughter of the king of Darien, who had been forced away from her father's house by one of the garrison, by whom she was with child. This rage had greatly exasperated the Indians against the Spaniards.

The Indians after the fight was over destroyed many more of the Spaniards as the pirates had done, and their method was, to take them into the adjoining wood, and there stab them to death with their lances, which barbarous proceeding, as soon as discovered, the

irates put a stop to keeping the Spaniards prisoners in the fort, and not permitting them to stir from it.

The pirates having been in possession of Santa Maria only for the space of two days, where they were greatly disappointed at their finding but very little booty, departed from thence for Panama on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, 1680, captain Coxon being chosen their commander in chief. They all embarked in thirty five canoes and a periagna, which they had taken lying at anchor before the town. Their Spanish prisoners begged to go along with them, and not to be left exposed to the cruelty of the Indians, who would give them no quarter. But the difficulty was, to find a sufficient number of boats; for the Indians who had returned home from the pirates, by consent or stealth, carried off several canoes.

However, the Spaniards soon after found bark logs, or old canoes, and by that means shifted so well for themselves as to be able to sail down the river with the pirates; who, before they set out, committed the fort, church and town to the flames, which was done at the request of the king of Darien, an irreconcilable enemy to the Spaniards; who, with his son Antonio, and Andreas, were resolved to go and see the ruin of Panama, and their hated foes.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of April, 1680, being St. George's day, the patron of England, the pirates came before sun rise within view of the city of Panama, which presents a very pleasing prospect towards the sea. They saw also the ships belonging to the said city, ride at anchor, about a league distant from Panama, at an island called Perico. On that island are several store-houses to receive the goods delivered out of the ships. Five large galleons, and three Barcos de la Armadilla, or little men of war, on espying the pirates, weighed anchor, and got under sail, bearing directly down upon them.

In their five canoes the pirates had but thirty-six men, and those not in fighting order, having been harass'd

with so much rowing, and were besides so much inferior in number to the enemy. While the pirates were getting to the windward of the Spaniards, their little Periagua, in which were thirty-two men more of the company came up with them; so that there were sixty-eight on the sides of the pirates, among whom was the king of Darien, in the Periagua.

There were 86 Biscayners on board the vessel that was admiral of these three Spanish ships of war, mostly volunteers, and under the command of Don Jacinto de Baharona, high admiral of these seas. There were 77 negroes in the second, commanded by Don Francisco de Peralta, a stout veteran native of Andalusia in Old Spain. And on board the 3d were 65 Mulattoes, or Tawny-moors, whom Don Diego de Carrizuel commanded. Their number amounted to 228. Their orders were to give no quarter to the pirates or Buccaneers.

A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Spanish admiral, with his chief pilot, and two thirds of his men were killed, and many more wounded, who at length cried for quarter, which had been often offered to them before, and they as stoutly refused. Captain Coxon boarded the admiral, taking with him captain Harrison who had been shot through both his legs. This vessel having surrendered, the pirates put all their wounded on board of her, and manned immediately two of the canoes to fly to the assistance of captain Sawkins, who had been three times beat off from on board Peralta's so strenuous a defence was made.

The canoes coming up close under Peralta's side gave him a full volley of shot, which happening to fall fire to a jar of his gun-powder, blew up his men that were about the mast; some of them fell on the deck, others into the sea. Undismayed by this accident, the brave Peralta leapt overboard, and in spite of the pirates shooting at him, got several of his men into the

ship again, though he was much burnt in both his hands. While he was recovering the men abaft another jar of powder forwards taking fire, it blew up several men on the forecastle. During the confusion and great smoke occasioned by the explosion, captain Sawkins boarded and took the ship, which was a scene of uncommon misery, the crew being to a man killed, desperately wounded, or horribly burnt.

On board of the admiral's ship there remained but twenty-five of his men alive, though their number before battle had been eighty-six, of whom consequently sixty-one perished in the engagement: of the twenty-five there were only eight able to bear arms, all the rest being desperately wounded. The blood ran in streams along the deck, and every corner of the vessel was drenched therewith. The third Armadilla was so lucky enough to make her escape, after she had been severely handled.

The pirates being masters of two of the Armadilla vessels, captain Sawkins asked the prisoners what number of men might be on board the largest of the ships then in view lying in the harbour of Perico as mentioned above, and also the number of men in each of the smaller. Peralta hearing these questions, strove to dissuade Sawkins from so desperate an attempt as he seemed to be about: asserting that in the biggest alone there were 350 men, and that he would find all the rest proportionably well manned.

One of Peralta's men, who lay expiring on the deck, assured captain Sawkins, that there was not one man on board those ships in view; that they had all been taken out of them to man the Armadilla. This declaration of a dying man gained so far credit as to induce the pirates to steer towards the island, and go on board the ships; which, conformable to the dying person's information, they found quite destitute of men. La Santissima Trinidad, the largest of these ships, was on



fire; a hole having been made in her, and her foremast loose. But the pirates quenched the fire, and stopped the leak with all possible speed; which done, for the present emergency they converted her into an hospital ship, and put their wounded men on board.

The pirates having examined into their own loss, found they had eighteen men killed, and twenty two wounded in the action. The three Spanish captains against whom they fought, were esteemed the bravest men in the Spanish Seas.

The pirates buried captain Harris two days after the engagement. He was a thorough Englishman, native of Kent; a braver man never walked between stern and stern. His death was unfeignedly lamented by all the corps. He and another were all that died of the wounds they had received in the action; the rest recovered. As soon as the Pirates had come before Panama, Don Francisco de Peralto, their prisoner gave a satisfactory account of the state of that city, and the country adjacent to it. According to him the city of Panama lies in lat. of 9 degrees north. It is round that part only excepted where it fronts the sea. The old town, which had been taken and ruined by Morgan, stood four miles more easterly.

About two or three days after our arrival at Panama, captain Coxon having some occasion to be dissatisfied, withdrew from the pirates with 70 men. In his company went also back the Indian king, captain Antonio, and Don Andreas. The king left his son and nephew to the care of captain Sawkins, in order to encourage him (being now chosen governor in chief, in the absence of captain Sharp) to continue annoying their common enemy the Spaniards.

Captain Sharp, with his bark and company, rejoined them on Sunday the 25<sup>th</sup> of April. The pirates having continued before Panama for ten days, they weighed anchor the 2<sup>d</sup> of May, and sailed to the island of To

oga, on which there is a Town of the same name. From this island they could easily see all the vessels that sailed in or out of the port of Panama. While stationed there, they took some vessels laden with provisions, and others with more valuable cargoes.

On the 15th of May, they sailed from thence to the island of Oroque. Being arrived there, they lay to, while their boat went ashore, and fetched off fowls, eggs, and other things necessary for subsistence. From Oroque they sailed to the island of Cayboa, a place famous for the fishery of pearls. In their way thither they lost two barks, one having fifteen men on board, the other seven. While the pirates lay at anchor before Cayboa, captains Sharp and Sawkins, their two commanders in chief, taking along with them between 60 and 70 men, sailed in captain Cook's ship to the mouth of the river, whereon Puebla Nueva is situated, on the 22d of May 1683.

When they came to the river's mouth, they embarked themselves in canoes, and were piloted up the river towards the town by one of their prisoners, a negroe. But the inhabitants there were prepared to give them a warm reception; for, at a mile's distance from the town, they had cut down large trees, and laid them across the river, in order to hinder any boats from going up. They had also raised three strong breast-works on the shore before the town. Brave captain Sawkins running up to them at the head of a few men, was killed, with two more; and three were wounded in their retreat to the canoes, which was performed in tolerable good order. Sawkins' death was so much lamented, that it occasioned another party of the men to mutiny, and turn back, as captain Cox and his company had done before. Sixty-three resolved to return homewards, taking with them the Indian king's son, and all the other Indians, to serve them as guides over land. For the part of the journey they were to go by sea they

had a ship to carry them, and more than sufficient provisions.

Some time after the departure of the mutineers, the persevering pirates sailed from the island of Caybo with a small breeze at five in the afternoon; June the 6th, 1685. On the 3d day about sun-rise they made the Quicara, at about five leagues distance from them: there are two little islands: from whence they sailed to the island of Gorgona, and there remained some time to careen; but departed from thence on Sunday the 25th of July in the afternoon, and continued their course till the 12th of August following. Then they discovered early in the morning the island of Plate, at S. W. about five leagues distance, whither they resolved to go, in order to refit their rigging, and get some goats which wild there; flour and water being the only provisions they had left.

About six o'clock next morning they came under the aforesaid Isle of Plate, and there found captain Cortez with his company at anchor, whom they had been separated from for the space of a fortnight. This island is very steep on all sides, and there is no landing but on the north-east side; where, at the distance of somewhat more than a furlong from the shore, is a cross still standing, which had been erected there by the Spaniards at their first discovery of it. No trees are to be seen in this island; low shrubs, on which the goats feed, are very numerous there.

This island derives its name from the celebrated Sir Francis Drake, of whom it is reported, that it was here he made the dividend of that prodigious quantity of plate which he took in the Armada of this sea, distributing it by bowls full to each man of his company. If the Spaniards are to be believed, Sir Francis Drake took at that time twelve score tons of plate, and six hundred bowls of coined money a man, his number being forty-five. They were under the necessity of heaving a great

part of the treasure over board, on account of the ship's not being able to carry the whole. Therefore, as a memorial of this amazing dividendo, it is called the *Isle of plate* by the Spaniards; but *Drake's isle*, by the English. It is two leagues in length, and very full of deep and dangerous bays, which in those parts are called *Guailes*. The sea ebbs and flows here near thirteen feet perpendicular. The pirates had hazy weather most of the time they remained there, excepting that the sun would now and then happen to break out, and when shine so intensely hot, as to burn the skin off the backs of several of their men, and also the skin of the dogs. Having taken on board all necessaries that could be got there, they sailed from thence on Tuesday the 7th of August 1680, to go and plunder the rich towns of Africa.

On the 24th of August, at about nine o'clock at night, they espied a sail, and came very near to her before she saw them; when, as soon as perceived, she bore away from; whereupon the pirates began to chase, and were some time before they could come up with her. They hailed her in Spanish by means of an Indian prisoner, and commanded her to lower her top-sails; to which demand, her answer was, that she would soon oblige them to lower theirs. Whereupon the pirates fired several guns at her, to which she smartly replied with her *harquebusses*: after about half an hour's engagement the man at the helm was killed. Terrified by this disaster, none of the rest on board would succeed to what appeared to them so dangerous a station. Another shot of the pirates cutting their main-top yards in pieces, and they not being able to fight any longer, called for quarter, which the pirates granted them, and took possession of their ship, in which they found 35 men, of whom 24 were natives of Old Spain. The captain of the vessel was a person of some quality, and brother to him who had succeeded Don Jacinto de Ba-



rahona (lately killed before Panama) in commission the sea admiral of the Armada. There were five or six persons of quality besides him in this vessel.

With the next morning's dawn they hoisted out the canoe and went on board the vessel they had taken the night before, from which they brought more prisoners on board of theirs, and endeavoured to get some useful intelligence from them. About noon that day they unrigged the bark they had taken and sunk her; they stood to sea, and made the point of St. Helen that evening.

The next morning being the 26th of August, they steered south, and having calculated their plunder, found it amounted to the value of 3276 pieces of eight, which a fair distribution, according to the proportion of shares they were entitled to, was made amongst them. They sentenced to death a friar, chaplain to the bark they had taken. He was shot upon deck, and thrown over board before he was dead. After which execution they continued their course.

In Tumbes, the next place after Panama which the Spaniards settled in, a report prevails among the people that a priest having gone ashore with a cross in his hand, some thousands of Indians gathered round, and gazed on him with astonishment; which was still further increased by the formidable appearance of two lions from the neighbouring woods, followed by two tigers; which sights of terror (the priest having general laid the cross on their backs) prostrated themselves and worshipped it. Converted by so striking and wonderful a testimony of the truth of the priest's doctrine, the Indians soon embraced the Christian religion.

On Friday the 22d of October, after a long and tedious course, the pirates saw land before them, which the pilot informed them was the land of Hilo. There is a brightness over the point of it every morning and evening, caused, as is supposed, by the reflection of

on the barren lands. The wind was but moderate, and their fresh water being almost gone, excited a murmuring among their company, who would have landed there in order to get some. They were, however, prevailed on to endure a few days more, rather than run the risk of being discovered by the enemy, which must totally defeat their scheme.

On the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> land appeared, but covered with clouds. It having been resolved to send men ashore, they sent about eight in the evening in a launch and four canoes with 80 men to take three or four fishermen in the river called *El Rio de Juan*, near *Mora de Sama*, in order to get intelligence how matters stood along the coast, and in the adjacent country. In the night time, being within a league and a half of the shore, they sounded, and found forty-five fathom water, with hard ground at bottom.

Next morning being the 25<sup>th</sup>, their people and boats returned, which had been sent to take the fishermen; but their report was, that they could neither find such a river, fishermen, nor any houses thereabouts.

About six o'clock in the evening, on Monday the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, the pirates left their ship, in order to go and take Arica, resolving to land about the distance of a league to windward of the town; from whence they were about six leagues distant on leaving their ship, which obliged them to row all night, that they might reach the proposed place of landing by day. Towards morning, the canoes left the launch in which they had all night in tow. They made all possible dispatch for the shore, in order to disembark before the arrival of the launch there.

When come near to the place where they had intended to land, they were in the greatest amazement finding themselves discovered, and that the alarm of their arrival was spread all along the shore, and

through the country. Notwithstanding which inconvenience, they would have landed, could they have found a proper place for so doing; but the sea running very high, and dashing with some impetuosity against the rocks, it was impossible for their boats to weather it: moreover, should they venture ashore, their arms must inevitably be wet, and thereby rendered unfit for action.

Several parties of horse appeared round the bay, and on the tops of the hills, posted there in order to oppose the landing of the Buccaneers, at whom they fired a gun, which the others heeded not; but hoping for a fairer opportunity, returned to their ships.

The hill of Arica is very white, occasioned by the dung of the great quantity of fowls, which in its hollows build their nests. At about a mile from the shore, and to the leeward of the said hill, a small island lies, from which at half a league's distance, six ships at anchor were perceived; for having their yards taken down from their masts, and two appearing ready to sail. According to the pilots information, one of the two latter mounted six guns, the other four. The pirates, disappointed of their expectation at Arica, resolved to bear away from thence to the village of Hillo, in order to take in water, with other provisions there. In the night between the 27th and 28th they sent four canoes, with fifty men in them, to sail on and pillage the town of Hillo.

About break of day next morning, a fair breeze sprung up, with which they lay right in with the point. At one in the afternoon, they cast anchor at the distance of two miles from Hillo, and perceived the English colours, which the men (after having taken the place) had hung out. Captain Sharp sent a canoe from shore, with orders that all the men that could be spared should be landed without loss of time; that those of his party who had landed the morning before were challenged by some horsemen, who at

the exchange of some volleys of shot, thought proper to retire. That thereupon the people marched directly to the town where the Spaniards, for some time past apprehensive of such a visit, had raised a breast-work of clay, and banks of sand, thirty paces long. In the skirmish an Indian was wounded on the side of the Spaniards, who told the Bucaniers that news had been received nine days before, from Lima, of their coming into those parts: and the day before from Arica. The conquerors found in the town a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, oil, flour, and lime, with several other sorts of provisions. They gave orders for the keeping as good a watch as the Spaniards did on the hills, lest they should be surprized by any sudden assault, and defeated. They detached 60 of their stoutest men, on the 30th of October, to go and scour the valley belonging to the town, which was found to be very pleasant, being all over set with orange, olive, orange, lemon, and lime trees, with many other agreeable fruits.

There is a sugar work called by the Spaniards, *Ingenio de Azucar*, four miles up the valley; therein a great store of oil and molasses was found; but the owners had concealed most of the sugar in the canes. As the Bucaniers continued marching up the valley, the Spaniards moved along the hills, observing their movements; from the tops of which they frequently rolled down large stones upon them, which the conquerors were careful to escape. The discharge of a gun was enough to make the Spaniards hide themselves. From the above-mentioned sugar-house, capt. Cox, with one Cannis (a Dutchman) and others, went with a flag of truce to the Spaniards, who met them very civilly, and promised to give them fourscore beeves for the ransom of the sugar work: which was agreed to, upon condition that the beeves should be delivered next day in the afternoon at the port, pursuant to which, captain Sharp sent twenty men down



to the port in the evening, that no act of violence might be done to those who should bring the beeves.

On the 31st of October, the captain of the Spaniards waited on captain Sharp, the commander of the Bucaniers, with a flag of truce, assuring him that sixteen beeves had been already sent down to the port, and that the rest would certainly follow in the morning. Upon which assurance, Sharp ordered his men to prepare for a retreat; that nothing remained now to do but to march back to their ship and embark. Upon their return to the vessel, they were informed that no beeves had been sent down, which made them with reason suspect the enemy of foul-dealing.

Captain Sharp went to the top of the before mentioned hills next morning, being the first of November, and reproached the Spaniards with not having acquitted their promise. Their answer was, that the owner of the sugar-work being returned from Port-au-Prince, he was the properest person to treat with for its redemption. About eight o'clock next morning, a flag of truce came from the Spaniards, pleading for excuse that the winds were so high the cattle could not have been driven, but that they should be brought down to-morrow noon. Noon came, but no beeves appeared; wherefore, having filled their water, and finished all necessary repairs, the Bucaniers were determined to revenge.

Sixty of them marched in a body up the valley and there burnt the canes, mill and house; they also brought down the copper, cogs, and a great many jars of oil, which they found there. They brought off with them a great quantity of sugar, and returned to the port over the hills and the mountains; which (after they had descended them) they found to be very pleasant level and smooth.

It fell out very luckily for the pirates that they returned back that way; for otherwise their men on the sea side must have been inevitably cut to pieces.

the enemy, they being at that time scattered up and down, two or three in a party. For on the hills the Bucaniers descried 300 horsemen coming from the north side in full speed against their men, who were not in the least apprehensive of any such approaching.

Those on the hills being alarmed at the sight, threw down what sugar they had plundered, and ran to meet the enemy, in order to give their own men time to fly, and put themselves in a posture of defence. As the Pirates had got themselves into good order, they offered battle, which the others declined. As the Bucaniers advanced, the Spaniards retired, and went towards the mountains, in order to surround and take the rocks from them, if possible.

This scheme being discovered, the pirates returned back, took possession of the said rocks, and of the upper town. The Spaniards took possession of the upper town (half a mile distant from the lower) and of the hills and woods thereunto adjoining, whither new reinforcements came every half hour. A firing on both sides was continued all day, during which several Spaniards had been observed to ride to the watch-tower, and look out often to the sea-board with great eagerness.

This gave the Bucaniers occasion to fear the enemy's having more forces coming that way, which they appeared to have hourly expected; wherefore they resolved to embark in the dead time of the night, and depart from a coast where the enemy appeared to be too well provided for them. They carried off a large chest of sugar, whereof each man's share was seven pounds and a half; they carried off also thirty barrels of oil, and great quantities of all sorts of garden herbs, root, and most excellent fruits of every kind which that country affords, all welcome articles on board. They sailed next morning from Hillo, being the 3d of November, 1680. In a few days after, was

ny of them were troubled with the scurvy, which proceeded, as they imagined, from the continuance of hardships and want of provisions, which they had endured for several months past, having had only bread and water for their sustenance. But having since got a small quantity of very good chocolate from their plunder, a dish thereof, containing almost a pint, was ordered for each man every morning.

On the 2d of December, they saw very high land early in the morning, which was Coquimbo; they made all the sail they could towards it, and reached its coast before night; the wind being very high they were forced to lower their sails from time to time; it abated in the evening, and at midnight there was a profound calm; at which time they hoisted up their launch and canoes, and having put therein one hundred men, they rowed away from the ship, resolved, if practicable, to surprise *la Cavidad de la Serena*, a considerable city not far from the coast.

As they departed from their ship in the morning of the 3d of December 1680, they had a our two leagues to row to shore. But it happened, that the launch rowed so heavily, in comparison of the canoes, that it could not keep up with them, which made the others wait for her, and was the occasion of their not reaching a certain store-house, situate on the shore before it was broad day.

As soon as landed, they marched directly from their canoes towards the before-mentioned city of *la Serena*. They proceeded but a short way, when they found, to their great mortification, that they were discovered here, as they had already been at *Atica* and *Hillo*. For as thirty five of them marched together in a body, they were suddenly attacked by an hundred Spanish horse: whom, notwithstanding their superiority of number, they drove back towards the town. The Spaniards rallied soon after, and seemed as if determined to wait for, and attack the enemy.

As soon as the Bucanier's forces, amounting in all eighty four, were gathered (the rest being left to take care of the boats) they marched towards the Spaniards and offered them battle; which they instantly declined, riding away, and keeping out of gun shot. Their retreat was a designed one, in order to draw the pursuing pirates out of the road, leading directly to the town. The Spanith horse lost three of their principal men in this engagement, besides some wounded.

As soon as the Bucaniers discovered that they had been led out of the right road to the town by a stratagem of the enemy, in order to regain it, they crossed over the green fields, wading over several branches of water, which inclosed each plat of ground. In this march they came to several houses, all which they found empty, and as destitute of provisions as of inhabitants.

On their arrival, they found Serena to be a more considerable place than it had been represented to them, inasmuch as it contained seven great churches and one chapel. Four of the churches belonged to monasteries, and had organs for the performance of divine service: in short, they found more elegance and delicacy in Serena than could be expected in so remote a place. It was chiefly inhabited by tradesmen and merchants some of whom was reputed to be very wealthy. They had all fled with their most valuable effects at the news of the pirates approach; that they were unable to carry off, they buried.

The Bucaniers took in the town one friar and two Chilins, or Spaniards, natives of the kingdom of Chili, which adjoins to that of Peru, towards the reigns of Magellan. They were informed by these prisoners, that the Spaniards had heard of their coming, and killed most of their Chilian slaves, lest they should revolt and go over to them. They told the pirates, that the Spaniards had descried them four



days before they landed, all which time they employed in carrying off their goods and plate; and that a supply of sixty men had been sent to them from Arica.

A negro, who had run away from the Spaniards repaired to them that evening with this information that the negro whom they had taken when they were before Panama, was esteemed the best pilot in all the South Sea, but more especially for the coasts of Coquimbó, and neighbouring shores; adding farther that if the Spaniards had not sent to a great distance all the negroes belonging to this city, they would certainly have all revolted to them at their first appearance.

About midnight their boatswain, accompanied by forty men, having a Chilian for their guide, went from the town some miles into the country, in order to discover the places where the Spaniards had secreted themselves, and concealed their plate and other goods.

But the Spaniards having got intelligence of this scout, from secret spies they had left behind them in the town, both men and women removed to more distant places; so that nothing more valuable was found in this search, than an old woman and three children. Their ship by this time was come to anchor, near the above mentioned store-house, named Toruga, at a furlong's distance from shore, and in water seven fathoms deep.

A flag of truce came to town next morning from the enemy, being Sunday the 4th of December, with the proffer of a ransom for the town; for the Spaniards began to apprehend that the pirates would set fire to it, on account of their not having found a considerable booty therein. The chief commanders on both sides having met, the sum agreed on was 95,000 pieces of eight, which the Spaniards promised should be collected and paid the next day; in which they failed, and begged a farther indulgence to eight o'clock

the morning after; but in the intervening night they opened a sluice, and let the water run about the town's streams; and with an intent, either by overflowing to force the pirates from thence, or for the readier extinguishing of the flames, in case they should set fire to the place, which was accordingly done next morning.

The pirates left Serena in one universal blaze, which promised its being entirely reduced to ashes; and carried off with them all the plunder they could find. Marching down to the bay, they beat up an embuscade of 250 horse, which lay in wait to surprise any small parties they might have sent that way with booty.

They were soon informed of an unusual stratagem contrived by the Spaniards to burn their ships, to wit, a horse's hide being blown up like a bladder, a man ventured to swim on that puffed-up float from shore, and get under the stern of the Bucaniers ship. Having got safe there, he crammed between the rudder and stern-post, oakum, brimstone, and other combustible matter; which having put a lighted match to, in a very short space of time the rudder was on fire; and the ship all covered with smoke.

The men on board not knowing where the smoke came from ran up and down the ship alarmed and in haste; suspecting it to be the work of the prisoners in order to destroy the vessel, and obtain their own liberty; but discovering at length where the fire was, they were lucky enough to extinguish it before it had come to too great head. As soon as it was quenched they sent their boat ashore, where the hide before-mentioned, and the match burning at both ends, were found; which let them into the secret.

As soon as their commander was come down from Serena, then in a blaze, to the store-house on the shore, he released part of the Spanish prisoners, and the rest when he went on board, for two reasons: First,

He did not know what to do with, or how to dispose of them. *Secondly*, He feared the repetition of the late stratagem at some other time, when it might more effectually succeed. However he affected, before them, not to be influenced by any such motives; and that his releasing them proceeded from the humaneness of his natural disposition.

At two in the afternoon next day, being Tuesday the 7th of December, the Bucaniers weighed anchor and sailed for the island of Juan Fernandez, not distant from the coast of Coquimbo. On the 9th of the said month, it was thought convenient to come on an allowance of water, as but very little had been taken in at Coquimbo. On Friday the 24th, they descried the island of Juan Fernandez. By this name are designed two islands near each other; the larger of the two is three leagues and a half in length, the lesser but one in circumference.

On the morning of the 25th they sent off, about ten o'clock, one of their canoes, in order to seek the best anchoring place for their ship. As they drew near both the islands appeared to them as an heap of rocks; that situate to the northward is the higher, whole to they could not see, on account of its being covered with rocks. It is so steep in most places, that it becomes almost perpendicular. This being Christmas day, three volleys of shot were fired off in honour of that great festival.

In the evening they came to an anchor at the south end of the island in a stately bay, but too much exposed to the south-east winds. They had cast anchor in water eleven fathoms deep, and only one furlong distant from the shore. Here they were amazed to see such prodigious multitudes of seals as to almost cover the bay. Before they could land, they were obliged to kill several of them.

On Sunday the 26th of December, they sent a canoe, to try if a riding for their ship, sheltered from

southerly winds (which are the most constant there) could be found. Some men were also sent ashore to kill some goats, of which there is great plenty in that island; they killed and caught threescore. Those who had been sent in the canoe reported, on their return, that in another bay, situate on the north-side of the island, there was very good riding, not above a quarter of a mile from shore, and water fourteen fathoms deep.

Ten of the company was sent on the 28th in the morning in two canoes to fetch water from the island; where, having filled their jars, they could not return to the ship, on account of a strong wind from the south. They were in consequence forced to lie still in a water-ale, and wait till the wind should cease. During its violence their ship was obliged to get under sail, and make away, not without danger of being driven ashore; therefore she sailed out of the harbour to seek another place of anchoring.

Those in the canoes ventured out to try if they could follow the ship; but by the raging of the wind and sea were forced back again. They lay still till evening, and then ventured out a second time. But the storm was so outrageous, that, in order to save their lives they were under a necessity of throwing the jars filled with water overboard. However, they arrived by night at the place where they expected to find their ship, but were totally disconcerted at not finding her there.

Those dispirited poor people, not knowing well what to resolve upon, went ashore, and hauled up their canoes dry; they then advanced half a mile higher into the island, where they kindled a fire, dried their cloaths, and reposed as well as they could that night, and the witchings of extreme hunger would not let them, they having scarce eaten any thing the day before. They went early next morning to the northward to look out for their ship, which they began to



sear had been lost; but were at length so happy as to descry her at sea. They then chose a conspicuous place to make a fire on, which might inform those in the ship of their being there.

The canoes came to them from the ship with provisions in the afternoon, and were followed by the launch with men in her to cut wood; who told the relieved prisoners that the cable of the ship, while she was riding in the other bay, having been broke by the violence of the storm, she was obliged to leave her anchor, and get off to sea.

Dissention in their ship, still hovering about this island, was grown to such a height, about her future destination, that the mutineers prevailing, they proceeded to a new election of a commander in chief on the 6th of January; and having deposed captain Sharp, whom (they protested) they would no longer obey, their choice fell on John Watling, who had been an old privateer, and was reputed a very good mariner. The election over, those who were displeased at it in private, thought it expedient, for their own safety, to give their assent to it in public. Captain Sharp having laid down his command, captain Watling took it up, and signed new articles with the company. They sailed from the island of Juan Fernandez on the 14th of the same month.

On Monday the 24th in the afternoon, their commander, captain Watling, departed from the ship with twenty-five men, in two canoes, in order to find out and take the island of Yqueque, and get information how affairs stood at Arica. One of the canoes returned at four in the afternoon next day, bringing word, that though a diligent search had been made, the island could not be found; the other returned at night.

In the night between the 27th and 28th, they left their ships, and put themselves on board a bark, the launch, and four canoes, resolving to surprise Arica.

They rowed towards the shore, under which they got break of day on the 29th, and there hid themselves day amongst the rocks, lest before their arrival at Arica they should be discovered by the enemy. They concealed five leagues to the southward of it, near quebrada de San Vitor, from whence they rowed as soon as night was come on.

About sun-rise, on the 30th of January, they landed among some rocks, four miles to the southward of Arica. The number of their landed did not exceed 50, the rest they left in the boats for their defence, to prevent their being surprised by the enemy, that in case of a defeat, they might serve as a safe retreat. Their orders were, that if they should see a smoke from the town, or adjoining fields, they were to draw near the harbour of Arica with one canoe; but that if two fires appeared, they were to come all away, and leave in the boats no more than fifteen men.

The Bucaniers, in their march from where they landed towards the town, ascended a very steep hill, from the summit of which they saw no appearance of an enemy; which induced them to hope that the Spaniards had no advice of their approach: But when they had got about half way to the town, they were undeceived; for they discovered three horsemen posted on the look out hill, who rode off full speed to warn the city.

Commander Watling select'd forty out of the ninety-two to go and attack the fort, while the others advanced towards the town. Those dispatched against the fort had ten hand grenades among them, when the assault was given; with which, and other offensive arms, the castle was attacked; the besiegers exchanging several shot with those in the fort; but they, seeing their main body in danger of being overthrown by the Spaniards out numbering them so much, quit their attack against the fort, and ran down to the

valley in all haste to succour them; whereupon the battle became very desperate.

The Bucaniers had three men killed and two wounded, before they could gain upon the works; but their rage increased with their wounds; they still advanced, and at length beat the enemy out of every post, filling every street in the city with dead bodies. The enemy retreated from place to place, but were beat out of each. In those repeated defeats the pirates took a great number of prisoners; nay, so many that they were cumbersome to them; from whom they learned, that they had been descried from the island of Yqueque three days before; wherefore their arrival, in order to make a second attempt on this place was expected every hour: that 400 men had been sent from Lima to defend the city, and had brought 700 arms for the use of the country people; that besides the 300 men in the fort, there had been 600 men in the city.

The Bucaniers being in possession of the greater part of the city, they sent a summons to the fort to surrender; to which no attention was paid, whereupon they marched against, and attacked it a second time. It was most vigorously defended, and for a long time. The pirates finding they could not carry it, mounted on the top of a house just near it, and firing from thence killed and wounded many of their men.

While the Bucaniers were employed in this attack the rest of the enemy's forces had taken several posts of the town; and, in order to cut them off, began to surround them in great numbers. Startled therefore they were obliged to desist from this their second attack, and make head against their increasing foe, by whom they were soon overpowered, and obliged to retreat to the place where their wounded and surgeons were.

Captain Watling their new commander, the two quarter-masters, and several others being killed, and

any more disabled by their wounds, the Spaniards allied and beat them from place to place. Surrounded with danger on all sides, and being a body without head, they solicited the much injured, but brave Captain Sharp to resume the chief command, which not till after very great intreaty, he was prevailed on to accept. He pursued the best measures for their safety, having lost twenty-eight men killed and taken, besides eighteen wounded, whom they carried off with them.

The pirates began to be extremely faint for want of provision and water, not having had either all that day, and were choked with the dust of the town, which was so much raised by the working of the guns, that there was no seeing each other. The pirates were beat out of the town, and closely pursued into the open fields; where, rather than to be cut to pieces, they resolved to make a decisive stand; and if they must perish to die bravely.

This unexpected resolution of a flying enemy to immediately rally, so scared the Spaniards, that they ran back from them into the town, and skulked behind their breast-works, whilst the Bucaniers retreated in as good order as could possibly be expected in such a situation as theirs was. The Spanish horse pursued them in their retreat, but without doing any execution. The Bucaniers took to the sea-side for their greater security, which the Spaniards observing, repaired to the hills, and from thence hurled down huge stones and fragments of rocks, in hopes of crushing them to death therewith.

The Spaniards, who had the pirates surgeons, with others of their people prisoners, extorted from them the signals that were to be made to their boats; conformable to which they kindled two fires to be perceived by the canoes, which would have been productive of the greatest danger, had not the Bucaniers come between, that very instant. Otherwise the boats,



already under sail in obedience to the signal, must have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and all hopes of retreat for them being put off, who mult in consequence have perished, or been made prisoners to a man. About ten at night, the Buccaneers put off from shore, and made their escape from that day's bloody fight. They gave up any farther attempt against Arica. The houses of this town are not above eleven feet high, and built entirely of earth, without any timber or brick. It is of a square form: at one corner of it stands a castle, which may be easily commanded with small arms, from a neighbouring hill which towers over it. Arica is the embarkadero or port town of all the mineral towns that lies thereabouts; and all the plate that is carried to Lima, the head city of Peru, is brought to it from thence.

On the 16th of April, the mutineers broke out again, and resolved to separate, which they did to the number of forty-seven, determined to return over-land by the same way they had come into those sea. They took five slaves in their company, to guide and do them every other service during the journey. Those who remained in the ship fully resolved, and most faithfully promised to stick to each other to the last, which they did until the month of January, beating the sea, and touching at several places. They made some middling but no considerable prizes, which were fairly divided among them: But finding fortune declared against all their great projects, they dispersed, and each man disposed of himself in the best manner. Many of them returned to England.

In the month of November 1684, a company of Buccaneers, free booters, or pirates, synonymous terms for sea robbers, sailed from Petit Gauves, on the coast of St. Domingo. During the remainder of that winter, nothing very remarkable happened to them. They took an advice boat on the 25th of April, bound to the fleet of Peru, then at anchor at the port of Calao.

## BUCANIERS of AMERICA. 105

On the 27th in the evening they set out with 22 canoes, carrying 560 men, in order to go and take Le Seppa, a small town seven leagues to the windward of Panama. On the 29th, about ten o'clock in the morning, they discovered two ships, bearing on them, which, on drawing n arer, they found to be two piaraguas manned with Creeks; a medley of different nations, to whom the Spaniards have given this name, and who fight for them in the wars. They had brought those from the North Sea some time before, to protect them from all attacks. But the free-booters sent immediately two of their best sailing boats to attack them, having twenty men on board each.

The Creeks landed on one of the islands that stands in the bay of Panama, where they hung out a flag of defiance against the free-booters, who, with much difficulty, and being exposed to the fire of the Creeks, got at them; and after an hour's smart fighting, forced them, to run for shelter to the woods, having killed five and thirty, taken their colours, and made two of them prisoners. They then marched against Le Seppa, which they attacked so furiously that they took it with the loss of one man; but finding no valuable booty there, they returned to their canoes: for the Spaniards had removed from thence every rich article. On the first of May they rejoined their ships, which waited for them at an island called Sippilla, about a league distant from the mouth of the river of Le Seppa.

In January, 1686, the free-booters set out a new to attack Chiriquita. On the 9th by means of stolen marches they surprized the inhabitants there two hours before day; and the Corps de Garde, who so far from apprehending the approach of an enemy, were found at play. About two in the afternoon, perceiving a few Spaniards in a house at some distance from the town, they sent five of their number

thither to make them prisoners; but on their approaching, the first seen Spaniards, placed there by way of a decoy, disappeared; and in an instant more rushed from a nook where they had lain in ambush, and environed the few free-booters, who seeing no hopes of eluding, determined to sell their lives dear; therefore they stood back to back, in order to face the enemy every way, in which situation they fought them during an hour and a half, at which time some of theirs came to their assistance, in consequence of the groans they heard; for the firing they had judged to have been no more than exercising themselves in shooting at a mark.

The Spaniards, on seeing a reinforcement of the enemy come up, ran for it so fast, that there was no overtaking them. Two of the free-booters, (who without this timely help must have all perished) were killed and one disabled. The retreating Spaniards left thirty dead behind them. The free booters burnt all the houses in the town that day, lest their centinels might be surprized under the cover of them, or the enemy came to insult them in the night: which done, they retired into the great church, where the Spaniards dared not attack them, but remained satisfied in saluting them from time to time, and at a great distance, with a few musket shot. They left the place on the 10th, taking their prisoners along with them to an island in the river, preferring to wait for their ransom there, rather than on the continent, on account of their being less liable to be surprized or surrounded there. Having received their ransoms for their prisoners, on the 16th they set them at liberty, and repaired to their ships.

Being joined in April by some English free-booters, to the number of 115, it was resolved to attack Granada. Consequently on the 7th day they went ashore on a flat coast to the number of 345 men, under the conduct of a very good guide, who led them

across a wood, that they might not be discovered. They marched without intermission till the pm. They were, notwithstanding all the precaution, discovered by some inhabitants of Granada, sitting at about the distance of fifteen leagues from it.

They made all the dispatch they could to alarm the town of the free-booters approach, who followed close at their heels, till they were compelled by so long a fatigue, and violent hunger, to halt that night in a sugar plantation about four leagues distant from Granada, and on the road thither they set out next morning, being the 10th, and as they approached near the town, observed an eminence above it, at the distance of a league, and two ships on the lake of Nicaragua carrying (as they since learned) into an island two leagues off, all the treasure of the town.

They took a prisoner in a village on their way, who inform'd them that the inhabitants of the town had intrenched themselves in the place of arms, and compassed it with a strong wall. He farther added, that the place was guarded with fourteen pieces of cannon, and six patererors; and lastly asserted, that they had detached six troops of horse to attack their rear, while their front would be engaged with the Spaniards. The doughty free-booters were quite undismayed by this terrifying relation, and marched to the town about two in the afternoon.

At one entrance into the suburbs they met with a strong party lying in ambush for them, thro' whom they cut their way; and after an hour's engagement marched over the dead bodies of the enemy into the town, having lost but one man. They made a sudden halt to wait for the report of some of their people, whom they had detached to go round and take observations of a fort, which they saw in a direct line from the street by which they entered. Anon information was brought to them of its being a square fort; that they had besides observed three more, by



which the enemy could discover whatever should come against them, through the avenues leading thither, which were, moreover commanded by their small cannon and small arms.

The free-booters did not take up much time in debating; for judging rightly that they were too few to make different attacks at the same time, having assembled in a body, and called in all their scouting parties, by which they avoided the danger of being hemmed in by the Spanish horse, then in the rear of them, observing their motions, having animated each other, they advanced boldly towards the fortification, and were fired upon by the Spaniards as soon as come within cannon shot, who observing them to duck to the ground at each discharge, in order that the bullets might fly over them, had recourse to this stratagem, to wit, to false prime their guns, that, deceived thereby, the free-booters rising up after the sham fire, might be exposed to, and surprized by the real one.

But on their discovering this snare, they ranged themselves along the houses, and stole up a little ascent, from which they fired on the Spaniards so incessantly for an hour and a half, that they were obliged to quit their ground, though with some reluctance, but a shower of hand granadoes being poured upon them, they retired with precipitation to the tower and church; which, when those on the eminence had perceived, they called out to their comrades to jump over the walls, which they would second. This movement made them masters of the place of arms, and consequently of the town, from whence the Spaniards fled, having lost a great many men.

The Bucaniers had but four men killed and eight wounded. On examination, they found the fort capable to hold 6000 fighting men, and was well stored with arms. To give a better grace to their robbery, they had *Te Deum* sung in their church, to thank God for successful villany; their next care was to vi-

the houses, wherein they found but a few goods of very considerable value, and some provisions. Finding there were no hopes of a ransom for the town, out of mere indignation some of the Bucaniers set fire to many of the houses.

They left Granada on the 10th, and took along with them one piece of cannon and four patereroes, which were of service to them in dispersing some amuscades. However, they were forced that evening to leave their cannon behind them, which they nailed, the oxen that drew them being dead for want of water, and having travelled several leagues through very great heats, and through clouds of dust. The patereroes they preserved, which were carried by mules, that could better bear such inconveniences. They arrived by night in a village called Messaya, where they rested the next day to refresh their wounded men, two of which died of the cramp, which contracted all their nerves. This is so malignant a distemper in this country, that when it seizes upon a stranger that is wounded, it proves mortal.

On the 18th, as they came out of a forest into a plain, they discovered 500 men on an eminence, waiting for their coming, and hoisted up bloody colours, to declare their intention of giving no quarter; upon which the Bucaniers hauled down their white, and hung out red, and marched resolutely up to the Spaniards, through the midst of a very thick fire, till they came within musket shot; then their van guard pushed forward to beat them from the ground they occupied, which was executed with amazing bravery. They took fifty of the Spaniards horses, & lost great part of their arms, with their dead and wounded, whom they had left behind them in their dastardly flight, after having braved so much.

On the 26th, the fire-boaters came to the sea-side and embarked all together on the 9th of May. But on account of seeing nothing very advantageous to

have accrued for their several expeditions, a consultation was held, in which was a great variety of opinions; in consequence of which, having made a division of their canoes and provisions, they divided to two parties. Those who chose to go westward put themselves under the command of captain Grognet; and those who preferred an expedition to Panama, ranged themselves under captain Townley's command.

Captain Grognet sent his quarter-master on the 16, praying captain Townley to put none of his soldiers ashore, least they might give the Spaniards a taste of this separation; which would make them more resolute in opposing some descent which he meditated.

Captain Townley sailed the 19th for Panama, with his ship and one bark. On the 21st of June they discovered the place where they were to go ashore in order to attack Villia. They anchored there till night and hauled down all their sails, that they might not be descried from shore. They prepared every thing for landing, which they did, and marched directly towards the town, being 160 in number. They got there about an hour after sun-rise, and met with very little resistance, half of the people being at mass. They made about 300 men and women prisoners. They collected all the merchandize in the town, computed by the Spaniards to be worth a million and a half, and 15,000 pieces of eight in good silver. Their proposal about a ransom for the town proving ineffectual, they set fire to it, and went to lie at a place at the distance of a quarter of a league, where all their booty was, under the guard of fourscore of their men.

They were alarmed several times in the night between the 24th and 25th, and not being able to carry off all, put the most valuable articles of their booty in two canoes, on board which they put 9 men, the rest guarded them along the shore. Six hundred Spaniards, on the other side of the river, kept the canoes

view, though they were not seen by the free-boots on account of the bushes, thickets, and trees that grew along the banks thereof. When they had marched on about a league, they came to a place so full of thickets and trees that they could not pass through; and were therefore obliged to go a roundabout way, during which tour their canoes were suddenly surprized by a Spanish ambuscade, which discharging sixty musket-shot, killed four men and wounded one; the rest making their escape from the shores, a dozen Indians swam to, took and brought them to the Spaniards, who cut off the head of the wounded man, not able to run from the canoe, and set it on a high pole, that it might be seen by his companions; who, when they had finished their tour, reached to the river side, learned what had happened from one of those who had escaped from the shores.

On the 26th, they came to the place where their man had been killed, and one of their heads put on a pole. Enraged at the sight, they cut off four of their prisoners heads, and set up on poles in the place. They then took their dead bodies, in order to bury them in the sea side; in which design they were interrupted by three ambuscades which they defeated, with loss indeed of three men killed and one wounded. At last they rejoined their canoe, in which, soon after, one of their men died of his wounds.

A person was sent to the Bucaniers on the 27th, to demand the ransom of the prisoners; which was valued at 10,000 pieces of eight, with a menace to cut off all the prisoners heads, if the money should not be forthcoming on the 29th. Instead of which, they received for answer from the Alcaide, that he had made prisoners all those of his own people, whom they had sent ashore, to procure wherewithal to ransom their wives. The Bucaniers, highly irritated at such proceedings, immediately cut off the heads of two of



their prisoners, which they gave to the messenger bidding him carry them to the Alcaide; and tell him that if he should not send a more satisfactory answer, they would cut off the heads of the rest; then put the women ashore on an island, and march after in quest of a mill.

This message, confirmed by the sight of the heads, so terrified the Alcaide, that the same messenger returned in the evening, with assurances, that not only the stipulated ransom would be paid, but that over and above, they were to receive a present of beavers, twenty sheep, and two packs of meal, (each weighing 100 pounds) every day they should sojourn there.

The ten thousand pieces of eight, as had been agreed upon, were brought next day in the evening; then they weighed anchor in order to go to the place where they were to receive 120 salted beavers. From thence they departed on the 4th of July, and cast anchor at the isle of Igwana, in order to see and get some water, which they were afraid to seek for on the continent, on account of its being guarded with 400 men; but having found the water in the island to be brackish, they resolved at all events to make a descent with 200 men on Terra Firma.

The Spaniards, who were lying on the grass about 100 paces from the sea-side, rose up to oppose the landed free-booters, from advancing into the country; who, after a short, but desperate engagement, made them run away. After which they filled their casks with fresh water, without loss of time, and returned on board.

They weighed anchor and sailed away on the 7th. Nothing very remarkable happened to them till about the 26th of August following, when they came to anchor before the port of Panama, in order to learn some news. They saw two ships in the road, to which the town-canoes went frequently. The free-booters

dreaming that these were armed against them, anchored Tavaqua on the 21st, where they descried three sail bearing just upon them, whose approach had been concealed by the point of the island.

The Spaniards began to fire, and had moreover the weather-gage. The free-booters made five attacks to get to windward of them, which they effected, by sailing between the island Tavaquilla and a rock, where there was passage for one ship, and which the Spaniards were afraid to attempt. The fight continued till noon with equal advantage. The free booters threw a great many granadoes into their biggest ship; one of which had so good an effect as to set fire to some powder, which burnt many of their men, and soon set the vessel in a blaze; which the free-booters perceiving, boarded her, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance the Spaniards made from her stern, whither they all retired, but were forced at length to ask for quarter. From the free-booters being masters of the ship, at the same time one of the barks boarded one of the Spaniards, which they took.

The Spaniards third vessel, a galley, staid to the last, before she began to make her escape, relying on her speed in sailing; but seeing herself chased by the free booters galley, she ran herself ashore, where she was immediately broken to pieces, and most of her crew perished. Of 120 Spaniards who had been on board the little frigate, 80 were killed and wounded; of the 70 in the bark, there remained but 18 unhurt; and not above 12 swam ashore from the wrecked galley. All their officers were killed or wounded; among others their commander in chief received five musket shots, of which he died some time after. He was one of the bravest men in those parts, and the most to be dreaded by the free-booters.

While they were busy in repairing the rigging of the vessels they had taken, and in throwing the dead overboard, they discovered two sail more coming from Panama which were directly upon them. They therefore questioned the

prisoners if they knew any thing about them ; who answered, they believed them to have succours on board ; whereupon the free-booters, in order to make them believe that they (not their countrymen were taken) hoisted up Spanish colours in their own ships and prizes, with the French and English under them. This lure succeeded, and the two ships being come up close, were saluted in a manner very different from their expectations.

Finding themselves deceived, they began to fire, but with great precipitation, and made off towards the little frigate which they still supposed to be theirs, but she soon undeceived them by throwing some hand-granadoes into one of the barks, which immediately sunk her. At the same time the other was boarded, wherein were found four packs of cords, all of the same length, which were made ready for their tying of the free-booters. This unfriendly preparation was the occasion that no quarter was given to those in the bark in which they were found.

The captain's commission, which was found on board being read, the purport appeared thus : That he was to chase the free-booters as far as St. John's island ; and that when he should board them, which was looked upon as a certainty, he was to spare none but the surgeons (whom alone they were willing to save) and that, in order to effectuate the entire ruin of them, troops were to march along the shore, to prevent any of them escaping thither in their canoes.

The free booters had but one man killed in this engagement, but 20 were wounded ; most of whom died in consequence, captain Townley was wounded. On the 24th in the evening they sent one of their prisoners to the president of Panama with a letter, wherein they required him to give up five free booters who were his prisoners, and to send some drugs for the use of his own people (as they gave out) though in truth for themselves. He sent them that night the commander of Seppa, who spoke little French, with an answer.

The answer not appearing satisfactory to them, they sent him a verbal message by the said officer, that if the prisoners demanded were not sent to them, they would send to the governor, the heads of all the Spaniards in their possession. On the 27th in the morning a letter was brought to the free-booters from the bishop of Panama, importing principally, that the prisoners were Roman Catholics, and desired to remain where they were. Not at all pleased at so frivolous a pretext, they sent their final resolution to the president; which was, that if their men should not be restored to them by the 28th, they would send him the heads of all the Spanish prisoners. This had the desired effect; for early in the morning of the 28th, a person came on board from the president of Panama, to deliver up the five men in question, of whom four were English, and one French; who also brought them some refreshments for their wounded men, and a polite letter.

In return, the Bucaniers sent twelve of the Spaniards who were the most wounded, with the following peremptory letter.

'Had you acted in this manner, on our first application to you for the freeing of these five prisoners, you would not have been guilty of the murder of those two wretches whose heads have been sent you. Not to be behind hand in civility, a dozen men are sent to you by way of exchange; but for the ransom of those still remaining, the sum of 20,000 pieces of eight is demanded; which demand, if not complied with, they shall be put out of condition ever to use poisoned bullets again; for which crime alone they ought to be refused any quarter.'

They however, weighed anchor about twelve o'clock the same day, which was the 28th; and in order to take in water, anchored against Taoga. On account of the difficulty of raising the stipulated sum, the Bucaniers (in a hurry to be gone) on account of their men daily dying, consented to take 10,000 which was brought to them by a knight of Malta in a bark, who therein received the pri-



soners from the Bucaniers, which was on the eight November, the day captain Townley died of his wound. They threw his body in to the sea, according to his desire, and on the occasion paid his memory all the honours due to it.

In the year 1687, they, for the first time, were exposed to what is called the burning of the roads, which is differently executed in the Savans or plains, and in the woods. When the roads of the former are set on fire, the grass is almost as high as a man's head, and as dry as a manner as powder, which being put into a flame, though of a short duration, is mighty offensive, terrifying, and often dangerous to the traveller. When the roads lead thro' covert and woody countries, the fire is applied thereto; then according to the course of the wind, the country for several leagues appears to be over-run with a progressive fire, to which the dryness of the trees doth very much contribute, as well as the excessive heat of the sun.

In the month of April they resolved to attack the town of Queaquilla. They landed in a place full of water and shrubs, across which they were forced to cut their way with their sabres; but not knowing the country well, they have unluckily landed just over against a centinel. About half an hour after their landing, one of their men who was left behind to look after their canoes struck fire to light his pipe, though quite contrary to an express prohibition given him. The sparks being perceived by the centinel, who knowing that no Spaniard, on pain of death, would dare to strike fire by night, immediately concluded some enemy to be near; whereupon he discharged a small *parerero* to alarm the fort; which answered the same with a general discharge of all her cannon.

A heavy storm of rain coming on at the same time, the Bucaniers were obliged to shelter themselves till break of day; during which time the Spaniards kept a continual firing from the fort, in order to terrify whatever enemy might be, and let them know that they were prepared to give them a warm reception.

## BUCANIERS of AMERICA. 113

On the 20th, the free-booters marched in order of battle towards the town, with drums beating and colours flying.

They had not marched long before they found themselves stopt by 700 men, who attacked them from under the covert of a wall four feet and a half high, encompassed by a ditch, which made them mistake it for their fort. The Spaniards made strenuous efforts to repulse the enemy, and slew several men, by which success they were encouraged to sally out on them sword in hand. That was their mistake, for the free booters so beleaguered them, when they had quitted their cover, that they fled precipitously, breaking down the bridges to prevent their being closely pursued. But the others followed them through the intervening impediments, made themselves masters of the wall in spite of all opposition, which could not withstand the granadoes.

The Spaniards having fled to the place of arms, and entrenched themselves in a strong Caze or redoubt; which, after an hour's defence, they were forced to abandon; and were pursued from one fort to the other, till at length they were driven to the third, the greatest and most considerable of them all. There they made an obstinate defence, firing continually upon the Bucaniers; from whom they were concealed by the smoke of their cannon.

Wearied with a fight of almost eleven hours, and their powder being almost spent, the free-booters determined a last decisive effort, therein to conquer or to perish. Their desperate attack was made with such impetuosity, that they soon made themselves masters of the last fort, but not without a sensible and uncommon loss on their side; nine of their men being killed, and twelve wounded.

They detached several parties after those that fled. They took in Queaquilly 700 prisoners of both sexes, among whom were the governor and his family, who, with some other officers and men of quality, that were also wounded, shewed more bravery than the 500 men that defended the place. The free-booters got there several

sorts of merchandize, a great many precious stones, pearls, a very considerable quantity of silver plate, and above 70,000 pieces of eight. They sent their canoes too late, in pursuit of the shallows which had carried the main treasure of the town away. They only overtook a small one that lagged behind having on board but 22 pieces of eight, and a vermillion eagle ilr, which had been used for a tabernacle to some church. It weighed five or eight pounds, and was of exceeding rare and curious workmanship. It was also remarkable for two great rocks of emeralds, wherewith the eyes of it were made.

They stipulated with the governor in the evening for a general ransom both of persons and things, which was 2 million of pieces of eight in gold, and 400 sacks of corn. In order that the payment of the said ransom might be forwarded, which was to be brought from Quito, eight leagues off, the governor desired the free-boaters to release their vicar-general, whom they had prisoner, because he was a man of very great authority and credit among the people there.

The time allowed for the payment of the ransom of Queaquilla being expired on the 9<sup>th</sup>, four days more were granted to them. The free-boaters began to be very much displeased at the delay of the Spaniards, when a Spanish bark arrived at the isle of Puna (whither they had retired) with an officer, who prayed them not to be impatient, for the ransom would be paid forthwith.

The Buccaneers guessing that all these delays were contrived in order to gain time for the receiving of reinforcements, resolved, in order to strike terror into the enemy, to throw dice for their lives. The heads of the four that fell upon a fatal lot, were presently cut off and sent back in the same vessel with that officer to Queaquilla, by whom the town was to be informed, that if the ransom should not be paid in four days, they might expect the heads of all the prisoners.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>, they sent one of their canoes to Queaquilla

to carry one of the fathers thither; they are as much respected in those parts as the viceroys. The governor having given this man a power to act as he pleased; soon after a bark came to Puna, (which the Buccaneers had returned) with 24 sacks of meal, and gold to the value of 20,000 pieces of eight, with entreaties for three days respite for the payment of the remainder of the ransom, which was granted to them, accompanied with this dreadful menace, that in case of failure, their forts, town, and ships should be seized upon, and set on fire.

Their canoe returned to them on the 25th, with an account that the town would pay no more than 22,000 pieces of eight for the remainder of the ransom; which after duly considering, that, on one hand, as they intended to leave those seas, farther acts of cruelty were become unnecessary to make them dreaded. They consented to accept of the said sum, with this reserve, to send only the meanest prisoners ashore, and detain the best sort on board for their own security. They thought it also prudent to steer towards the point of St. Helena, to be out of all manner of danger of the Spaniards surprising them, whose movements they could from thence discover on every side.

Having thus concluded, they dispatched their canoe to Queaquilla, which returned on the 25th, with assurance that the Spaniards would not fail to bring the 22,000 pieces of eight next day, which accordingly the next evening they received. On the 6th of June following, they weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast in quest of a convenient place to take in water. Being at anchor on the 10th, between the capes Pallon and Francisco, they landed their prisoners, and gave them their liberty. On the 11th they proceeded to a division of their plunder.

On the 25th they weighed anchor and sailed; nor met with any thing remarkable till the 24th of the next month, July, when about eight in the morning they discovered three sail of ships; upon which they fired a paterero to call in their canoes, then taking in water in a neighbouring shoal. An undecisive engagement ensued.



On the 15th of December following they arrived in the bay of Mapalla, and landed on the 18th to the number of seventy. Having marched two or three days without meeting any body, the greater part of them became tired, gave up any farther pursuit, and resolved to return, which they did. The small number of 18, less-fatigued than the rest, were determined to proceed, who, a little after they had separated from their companions, hit upon a great road, which they followed; but had not walked therein above an hour, when they took three horsemen who being questioned, that about a quarter of a league off, there was a little town called Chilteco, wherein were 400 white men besides Mulattos, Indians and Negroes; and who, as yet had no apprehension of a visit from the Bucaniers.

Upon which information, instead of being terrified, these 18 men marched undann'dly to the town, which they surprized in the midst of security. They made the chief there, with officers, women, and other persons prisoners to the number of fifty. The people, struck with a panic, instantly surrendered, supposing these 18 to be but the vanguard of a larger body then approaching. Numbers ran on horse-back, who, if they had remained to be convinced of the fewness of the enemy's number, would have been more than sufficient to chastise their rashness. Being mounted on horses they found in the town, they carried off four prisoners of each sex.

The next day, being the 20th, they overtook their returning companions, at a place they had rested on their way back, and told them what had happened. They assured them against 600 Spaniards following in the rear. They gave the women-prisoners their liberty. On the 22d they all returned on board, and came to a resolution, That if the dangers be ever so great, which they were to meet in their passage over land to the North Sea, they would encounter them, and rather perish sword in hand, than starve by inches.

They made all necessary preparations for such a journey.

that they should all undergo the same hazards, their ship  
run ashore. In their galley and canoes they sailed  
from the island they were on to the continent; where on  
the continent; where on the 25. being Christmas-day,  
they formed themselves into four companies consisting of  
men each; consequently their whole number amounted  
280. Their forlorn hope they settled thus: ten men  
were to be drawn out of each company, and relieved every  
morning. They set foot on the continent the first of Janu-  
ary 1680, and on the evening of the same day were join-  
ed by a party, which they had detached before them to  
secure horses: they brought 68, with several prisoners,  
who advised them, without any violence having been used,  
to desist from their intention of travelling through Segovia,  
because the Spaniards had advice thereof.

Their situation not permitting them to hearken to this  
advice, they ordered their people to make ready: every  
man to pack up his charge, and all put their silver into  
bags. Those who had too much gave part of it to those  
poor who had been lightened of theirs at play. The  
conditions were, that the carrier was to keep one half, in  
case providence should conduct them and their baggage safe  
to the North Sea. Those who had been losers at play, and  
were consequently poor began to cabal and form a conspi-  
racy against the winners, and those who were richest in their  
company.

The Spaniards notwithstanding all the precautions which  
had been taken, were advertised of the Bucaniers march,  
and failed not to give them their very unwelcome company;  
sometimes on their flanks, and some times on their rear.  
On the 7th their vanguard met with an ambuscade, and de-  
stroyed it.

The Spaniards left no means unattempted, in order to  
destroy them, burning all the provisions in the way they  
went, and setting fire to the grass to windward of them in  
the plains; which not only grievously incommoded, but  
sometimes, almost stifled them with the smoke. Nay, they

were often obliged to halt until the fire had entirely spent itself, which greatly retarded their march; and this was their chief aim, that timely notice might be given of the march, and proper measures taken to defeat it. From the man they had wounded, the free-booter learned, that several reinforcements were assembled to dispute their passage. They came soon after to a great borough, and were told of three hundred men who had been waiting for them there: who served them afterwards as a constant guard, entertaining them morning and evening with their trumpet, which had indeed an air of enchantment: for they began the concert, though they could not see the musicians, who moved at some distance on each side, through places cloathed with pine trees.

Their custom each night, was to rest either on an ascent or in the midst of the plain, according as the country permitted, that they might not be hemmed in. Their advanced guards had orders to fire their muskets at the entrance or avenues of woods. They proceeded through variety of difficulties; repeated ambuscades they defeated, and were obliged to cut themselves roads through places before impervious. They at length set themselves afloat on river, in a most perilous manner: some of their people were assassinated by others of their own company, for what treasure they had. The murderers desired to escape the punishment due to such crimes. They at length gained the North Sea, and were from thence waisted to the port of Petit Graves, from whence they had sailed almost ten years before; but little enriched for all the fatigues they had undergone.

Having had such frequent occasion to speak of the Indians in the course of this work, it will not perhaps be displeasing to the reader to have a picture of them in their original state; for which purpose a choice is made of the inhabiting near Cape Gratias a Dios. They are governed by a small commonwealth, having no supreme ruler; they entertain no correspondence with the neighbouring Indians, and detest the Spaniards.

## BUCANIERS of AMERICA. 119

Although they are but a small nation, they may be divided into two sorts of people; of which the more estimable sort cultivate plantations, and till the ground; but the other is so slothful as rather to live exposed to the inclemency of the weather, than to be at the trouble of building themselves houses, or even huts, however despicable. They chiefly wander about the sea shore, without any other covering for their bodies than a few palm leaves, which they put on their heads, and turn their backs always to the wind. They have an apron tied about their middle, in order to conceal their privities. Their aprons are made of the rinds of trees, which are softened by being beat upon stones: and of such stuff their bed coverings are generally composed. Their usual arms are a kind of spear, which they make fit for use with bones of crocodiles, or points of iron.

They live without any religion or divine worship. Their ordinary food consists mostly in fruits, such as bananas, racoves, cazave, potatoes, ananas; they feed also on fish, and some few other fish, which they kill with their spears in their sea. They, however, contrive to make some pleasant liquor. That called Achioe is the commonest amongst them; it is made of a certain seed of a palm tree, infused and steeped in hot water, till it be settled at bottom; this liquor strained off has a very pleasant taste, and is very nutritive. Their choicest liquor is that made of mannos, which they knead with hot water, and then put into great calabashes full of cold water for eight days, during which time it ferments as well as the best wine, and is a nice regale for their friends.

On a day of entertainment, before the arrival of the invited, the inviters comb their hair very well, and anoint their faces with the oil of palm, mixed with a black tincture, which renders them hideous. The women also besmear their faces with another sort of stuff, which makes them look as red as crimson. They might not improperly



be called, *The fiery faced Beauties*; and in this consist all their ornaments of dress.

The inviter takes his arms, and proceeds from this cottage three or four hundred steps, to wait for and receive the persons whom he has invited. At their approach he falls on the ground, and lies flat on his face, motionless and seemingly dead. The duty of the invited friends is to raise up the prostrate inviter, and set him firm on his feet; then they proceed immediately to the house or hut. There the invited play over again the same serious farce, by falling prostrate on the ground, as the inviter had done before, who raises them one by one, and presenting them his hand, conducts them into his dwelling, where he desires them to be seated.

Each person is presented with a calabash of about some quarts full of Achoic, almost as thick as water gruel, which they are to drink off at any rate; then the master of the house goes about and gathers the calabashes with great ceremony. The drinking is followed by many songs, dances, and carousals to the women; the latter are so extravagant sometimes, that the men take their darts, and with the points thereof pierce and wound their genitals. This they often do when they make love to a woman, to express thereby the violence of their passions.

Their marriage ceremony is thus: The father of the girl having given his consent, calls to her for a little calabash filled with Achoic, of which he drinks first, then gives the cup to the young wooer, who gives it to his sweetheart, while she drinking off, the marriage is performed. As soon as a woman is delivered of a child, she goes to the next fountain, river, or stream, and washes the new born creature therein.

F I N I S.